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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF WESTERN EUROPE

I

THE BACKGROUND OF MODERN HISTORY

BY

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON

COMPLETELY REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION

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PREFACE

In introducing the student to the history of the development of European culture, the problem of selection and proportion has seemed to me, throughout, the fundamental one. Consequently I have endeavored not only to state matters truly and clearly, but also to recall only those past events, institutions, and beliefs which it is essential for one to know in order to understand our own age. It has therefore been necessary, in so short an account of so vast a theme, to omit the names of many personages and conflicts of secondary importance which have ordinarily found their way into our historical manuals. I have ventured to neglect also a considerable number of episodes and anecdotes which, while hallowed by assiduous repetition, appear to owe their longevity to accident or fancy rather than to any profound significance.

Institutions which still deeply affect us—above all, the Church—have, on the other hand, been dealt with more generously than usual. The life and work of a few men of indubitably first-rate influence in the various fields of human endeavor have been assigned a place proportionate to their achievements. Lastly, the scope of the work has been broadened so that the merely political and military history falls somewhat into the background, and the economic, literary, and scientific achievements of the past form an integral part of the narrative.

In composing the original edition, published many years ago, I relied upon a great variety of sources of information belonging to various orders in the hierarchy of historical literature. I also received much aid from kind colleagues and friends. Anyone curious in regard to my indebtedness to others may

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consult the preface to the earlier edition. Twenty years of further study, as well as the astonishing events of the last decade, have served to put many things in a new light. In the present revision the nineteenth century is far more fully developed in its outstanding traits than was possible in the original work. It is clear, too, that the early years of the twentieth century have beheld a sort of revolution in human thought and experience which belonged to a future not yet unrolled when I sent the earlier edition to press.

The *Readings in European History* were arranged to follow chapter by chapter the original edition and will serve excellently to supplement and vivify the revised narrative here given. There is a further collection of extracts from the sources, *Readings in Modern European History* (prepared in collaboration with Dr. Charles A. Beard) which contains additional material for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Some reflections on the general value and purport of historical study will be found in the introductory chapter of the present volume.

J. H. R.

New York City

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THE HISTORY OF WESTERN EUROPE

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL POINT OF VIEW

"The Living Past"

History in the fullest sense of the word includes all we know about everything that man has ever done or thought or hoped or felt. It is, indeed, the limitless science of past human affairs —a theme immeasurably vast and important, but exceedingly difficult to encompass in any single plan or pattern. The historian may busy himself with flint implements made long before writing was invented; he may decipher the inscriptions in the chambers of the Egyptian pyramids, enumerate the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty, unearth the remains of the ancient civilization of Peru, reconstruct the habits of the aborigines of Tasmania, or investigate Napoleon's strategy at Wagram. He may explain how the western portions of the Roman Empire were overrun by German barbarians or why the United States entered the World War; he may find out what Calvin thought of Luther or what a French peasant had to eat in the eighteenth century. We can know something of each and all of these subjects of inquiry, so scattered in time and space. They all—along with innumerable other matters —go to make up the history of the human race.

The object of these two volumes is to give some idea of that part of history which it concerns us most to know; namely, the way in which our own particular form of civilization has de-

veloped. The peoples of western Europe, and their offshoots in distant lands, have in the past undertaken experiments in government, advanced in scientific knowledge, devised unprecedented ways of manufacturing goods and carrying them over land and sea, and perfected fabulous means of communication, which have spread far and wide and are becoming the common possession of mankind.

The slow, strange ways in which all these things have come about explain many of the embarrassments which now face us in dealing with human problems. There are many persistent mistakes and prejudices which run counter to our new knowledge and conditions and possibilities. It is difficult for us to make fresh, free adjustments to novel situations, for we have always to be taking account of historical habits formed long ago in the Middle Ages or even earlier. So the study of history should make a great contribution to the better understanding of life and to the formation of more thoughtful opinions on public affairs.

The history of Europe is really a history of ourselves—of our civilization, our science, literature, institutions, and of the origin of our social problems, even if we live far away from Europe, in North America or South America, in Australia or South Africa. In the Western Hemisphere a European language, English, is spoken north of Mexico; two other European languages, Spanish and Portuguese, are used by the peoples from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn. This means that the civilization of all this vast territory, as well as that of Australasia and portions of Africa, came with conquerors or settlers from Europe; and however each country may pride itself on its particular institutions, its knowledge and arts can be traced back through the Middle Ages to Rome and Greece, to Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Syria. The very letters used in this book are common not only to English but to French, German, Italian, and Spanish—and they are all derived from the alphabet of the ancient Phœnicians.

The past is a "living" past, for things are as they are because they have been as they have been; and we cannot understand the present except by realizing how it came about. This is one of the greatest discoveries of modern times. The reason why we understand more about the world we live in, about the animals that inhabit it, and about man himself than any previous generation is largely because we know more *history*. For by following the development of anything, from stratified rocks and hairy caterpillars to religious liberty or a modern locomotive, our attention is called to features which would otherwise escape us. So the past is not only living, but it is the golden key to an understanding of things as they are.

As we progress we shall see how many things become plain that were mysteries before; how many considerations important in estimating our own conditions and problems previously escaped us, but now suddenly rise to prominence. We shall find that all progress must necessarily be based upon the past, but that nevertheless the past is always holding us back, so that man's great task has always been to transcend the past. So the past is at once our indispensable support and counselor and at the same time a subtle enemy of proper readjustment and accommodation to ever-new conditions and increasing knowledge.

We must learn, above all, to examine with an open and inquiring mind institutions and beliefs that we are tempted at first to declare absurd and unworthy of our attention. The aim of the historian is not to prove that a particular way of doing a thing is right or wrong; as, for instance, intrusting the whole government to a king or forbidding clergymen to marry. His object is to show, as well as he can, how a certain system came to be introduced, what was thought of it, how it worked, and how another plan gradually supplanted it. It seems to us horrible that a man should be burned alive because he holds views of Christianity different from those of his neighbors. Instead, however, of merely condemning the practice, we must, as his-

torical students, endeavor to see why practically everyone in the thirteenth century, even the wisest and most tenderhearted, agreed that such a fearful punishment was the appropriate one for a heretic. An effort has therefore been made throughout this volume to treat the convictions and habits of men and nations in the past with a tolerant insight and understanding; that is, to show why these habits and convictions appealed to those who accepted them.

The Continuity of History

It is impossible to divide the past into distinct, clearly defined periods and prove that one age ended and another began in a particular year, such as 476, or 1453, or 1789. Men do not and cannot change their habits and ways of doing things all at once, no matter what happens. It is true that a single event, such as an important battle which results in the loss of a nation's independence, may produce an abrupt change in the government. This in turn may encourage or discourage commerce and industry and modify the language and the spirit of a people. Yet these deeper changes take place only very gradually. After a battle or a revolution the farmer will sow and reap in his old way; the artisan will take up his familiar tasks, and the merchant his buying and selling; the scholar will study and write and the household go on under the new government just as they did under the old. So a change in government affects the habits of a people but slowly in any case, and it may leave them quite unaltered.

The French Revolution, at the end of the eighteenth century, was probably the most abrupt and thoroughgoing change in the habits of a nation of which (with the exception of the present Russian experiment) we have any record. But we shall find when we come to study it that it was by no means so sudden in reality as is ordinarily supposed. Moreover, the innovators did not even succeed in permanently altering the form of govern-

ment; for when the French, after living under a monarchy for many centuries, set up a republic in 1792, the new government lasted only a few years. The nation was monarchical by habit and soon gladly accepted the rule of Napoleon, who was more autocratic than any of its former kings. In reorganizing the State he borrowed much from the discarded monarchy, and the present French republic still retains many of these arrangements.

This tendency of mankind to do, in general, this year what it did last, in spite of changes in some one department of life,—such as substituting a president for a king, traveling by rail instead of on horseback, or getting the news from a newspaper instead of from a neighbor,—results in what is called the *unity* or *continuity of history*. The truth that no abrupt change has ever taken place in all the customs of a people, and that it cannot, in the nature of things, take place, is perhaps the most fundamental lesson that history teaches—a truth with which all reformers have had to reckon.

Historians sometimes seem to forget this principle when they begin and end their books at precise dates, assuming that these mark an important epoch in human achievement. We find histories of Europe from 476 to 918, from 1270 to 1492, as if the accession of a capable German king in 918, or the death of a famous French king in 1270, or the discovery of America, marked a general change in European affairs. In reality, however, no general change took place at these dates or in any other single year. It would doubtless have proved a great convenience to the readers and writers of history if the world had agreed to carry out a definite program and alter its habits at precise dates, preferably at the opening of each century. But no such agreement has ever been adopted, and the historical student must take things as he finds them. He must recognize that nations retain their old customs while they adopt new ones, and that a small portion of a nation may advance while a great part of it stays behind.

The Significance of the Middle Ages

One of the most difficult questions that a historical writer has to settle is the point at which he is to begin his tale. Our particular object is to explain, as well as may be, how our modern civilization came about. How far back shall we go to get a start? Modern research seems to show that man was a wandering, hunting animal for hundreds of thousands of years before he learned to settle down and domesticate animals, cultivate the soil, and plant and reap crops.. He learned too to spin and weave and to make himself both garments and houses. This may have been ten or twelve thousand years ago.

Perhaps six thousand years ago, in the Nile valley, the art of writing was discovered, and five thousand years ago the Egyptians had been got together in such numbers and under such kingly organization that they could erect the Great Pyramid at Gizeh. The Egyptians carried various arts to a high degree of perfection, building vast and noble structures and adorning them with elaborate sculpture and paintings; the peoples of Mesopotamia discovered things which had escaped the ancient Egyptians; the Hebrews attained and assimilated conceptions of religion which deeply affect us down to the present day; the Greeks, building on the foundations of their predecessors, raised sculpture, architecture, philosophy, science, and literature to an absolutely unprecedented degree of refinement, and set standards for all succeeding generations; the Romans, originally a barbarous and untutored people, partially assimilated the culture of the Greeks and tried to imitate them as best they could.

After the decline and dissolution of the Roman Empire in western Europe came what are now called the Middle Ages. This is a rather recent term, for no one living in the Middle Ages could have suspected that he was really medieval. He was to himself a "modern." "Modern" is, indeed, a medieval word, meaning "of late" or "contemporaneous." In historical

manuals the term "Middle Ages" usually includes the centuries between the dissolution of the Roman Empire in western Europe and the beginning of what we are inclined to think of as modern times. And it is commonly assumed, according to one's taste and one's anxiety for a specious precision, that modern times may be said to have set in with the invention of printing, or with the flight of Greek scholars from Constantinople after its capture by the Turks in 1453, or with the arrival of Columbus in American waters, or with the opening of the Protestant revolt.

From the standpoint of the history of European civilization, however, this scheme of things might be profitably revised. For the culture of the Middle Ages is forecast (as is now generally recognized) in the conditions that existed in the Roman Empire before it was overrun by the German barbarians. It is a great mistake to assume that Roman civilization was abruptly revolutionized at that time. As we shall see, it had gradually changed during the centuries following the golden age of the Emperor Augustus. Long before the German conquest, art and literature and philosophy and science had begun to decline toward the level that they reached in the early Middle Ages. Most of the ideas and conditions which prevailed after the irruption of the barbarians were common enough before—even the general ignorance and superstition which we associate with the "dark ages." The disorders and destruction of the invasions did indeed bring on an age quite properly called "dark." It lasted, with only slight improvements, from the days of Augustine down to about the opening of the twelfth century. The towns shriveled up or disappeared, libraries were burned or rotted away from neglect, schools were closed, disorder prevailed, and those who could read or write became rarer and rarer.

From about the year 1100, conditions began to be more and more favorable to the revival of older knowledge and to the discovery of new, and this process has continued down to our own

day. Personally I should be inclined to think of the later Middle Ages as coming down to about the opening of the seventeenth century, when a new element, experimental science, began clearly to undo much of the old system of belief and to open up vistas of knowledge. This knowledge as it has been accumulated, and as it is still being accumulated more rapidly than ever before, tends to alter our old habits of thought and to suggest, through invention, new outlooks of the most astonishing nature.

So the Middle Ages really began earlier than they are ordinarily supposed to have begun, and closed a century or so later than is usually assumed.

> In short, our civilization and the human mind, critical and uncritical, as we now find it in our Western world, is a direct and uninterrupted outgrowth of the civilization and thought of the later Middle Ages. Very gradually only did the peculiarly free and audacious individual thinkers escape from this or that medieval belief, until in our own day some few have come to reject practically all the presuppositions on which the Scholastic system [of the later Middle Ages] was reared. But the great mass of Christian believers, whether Catholic or Protestant, still professedly or implicitly adhere to the assumptions of the Middle Ages, at least in all matters in which religious and moral sanctions are concerned. . . . Medieval presumptions, whether for better or worse, are still common.[1]

There has long been a well-recognized division of man's history between what are called "ancient times" and "medieval and modern times." Great and permanent achievements belong, as we have seen, to ancient history, and these have been best described in a short compass by Professor James Henry Breasted in his *Ancient Times, a History of the Early World*, going back to the beginnings of human civilization. We shall see, however, that we are the *direct* inheritors not of the civilization of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Greece, but of

[1] J. H. Robinson, *The Mind in the Making*, p. 147.

that of the Roman Empire as it merged into the Middle Ages. Accordingly this manual makes no attempt to more than hint at the story of man before the decline of the Roman Empire, and leaves it to the reader to seek his information on this exciting matter in the work of Professor Breasted or others. It assumes that one who acquaints himself with medieval ideas and institutions will have a point of departure which will enable him to grasp fairly well our own achievements and problems.

The Sources of Historical Knowledge

It is clear that all our information in regard to past events and conditions must be derived from evidence of some kind. This evidence is called the *source*, or wellspring, of knowledge. Sometimes there are a number of good and seemingly reliable sources for an event; such as the decapitation of Charles I or the march of Napoleon into Russia. Sometimes there is but a single, highly suspicious source; for instance, concerning the burial of the Gothic leader Alaric in a river bed. For a great many matters, especially in ancient and medieval times, there are, unfortunately, no written sources at all, and we can only conjecture how things were. For example, we do not know what the German tribes were doing before Cæsar came into contact with them and took the trouble to write out a brief account of what he had learned of them. We can discover but little about the bishops of Rome before the time of Constantine, for few references to them have come down to us.

Few, indeed, who read and study history ever come into contact with the primary, or first-hand, sources—they get their information at second hand. It is much more convenient to read what Gibbon has to say of Constantine than to refer to Eusebius, Eutropius, and other ancient writers from whom he gained his knowledge. Moreover, Gibbon carefully studied and compared all the primary sources, and it may be urged that he has given a truer, fuller, and more attractive account of the

period than can be found in any one of them. His *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is certainly a work of the highest rank; but nevertheless it is only a report of others' reports. It is therefore not a *primary* but a *secondary* source.[1]

Most of the historical knowledge current among us is not, however, derived from even secondary sources, such as Gibbon and similar authoritative writers, but comes from the reading of textbooks, encyclopedias, stories, dramas, and magazine articles. Popular manuals and articles are commonly written by those who know little or nothing of the primary sources; they are consequently at least *third* hand, even when based upon the best secondary accounts. As a matter of fact, they are usually patched together from older manuals and articles, and may be four, five, or six removes from the original source of knowledge.

It is well known that the oftener a report passes from mouth to mouth the less trustworthy and accurate does it tend to become. Unimportant details which appeal to the imagination will be magnified, and fundamental considerations are easily forgotten if they happen to be prosaic and commonplace. Historians, like other men, are sometimes fond of good stories and may be led astray by some false rumor which, once started into circulation, gets farther and farther from the truth with each repetition.

For example, a distinguished historian of the Church, Cardinal Baronius, writing about 1600, made the statement, upon very insufficient evidence, that, as the year 1000 approached, the people of Europe generally believed that the world was about to come to an end. Robertson, a very popular Scotch historian of the eighteenth century, repeated the statement and went on to describe the terrible panic which seized upon sinful men as the awful year drew on. Succeeding writers, in-

[1] See an analysis which I have given of the manner in which Gibbon used the sources in dealing with the so-called "fall of Rome," in *The New History*, sixth section.

cluding some very distinguished ones, accepted and even elaborated Robertson's account. About thirty years ago, however, a French scholar pointed out that there was really no adequate basis for this strange tale. To the chroniclers of the time the year 1000 was clearly no more portentous than 997 or 1003. This story of the panic, which passed current as historical fact for some three hundred years, offers an excellent illustration of the danger of relying upon secondary sources.[1]

One of the first questions, then, to ask upon taking up a historical work is, Where did the writer obtain his information? Has he simply copied his statements from the more easily accessible works in his own language, however unreliable and out of date they may be; or has he, dissatisfied with such uncertain sources, familiarized himself with the most recent researches of the distinguished scholars in his field, in whatever language they may have been written; or, still better, has he himself made a personal study of the original evidence which has come down to us of the events and conditions which he discusses?

For example, a little book or essay on Charlemagne might be written after reading the article in the Encyclopædia Britannica, or some little book, like Hodgkin's *Charles the Great* or West's *Alcuin*. On the other hand, the writer might turn to the French and German treatises on Charlemagne's reign and acquaint himself with all the articles which have appeared on the subject in historical magazines or the transactions of learned societies.

A really conscientious historical student specializing in the field would go still farther and see the original evidence, such as it is, with his own eyes and draw or modify his conclusions from it. He would look up the sources themselves, such as the *Annals of the Monastery of Lorsch*, the life of Charlemagne by his secretary Einhard, or the letters of Alcuin his educational adviser. He would also scrutinize the various laws passed in

[1] See the interesting account of this matter by Professor George L. Burr in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. VI, pp. 429 ff.

Charlemagne's time and unearth any men of letters (who, to be sure, would be hard to find) and, indeed, any contemporary or later writers who might refer to the period in question. In this way he would learn all that is to be known about Charlemagne and his times. The most reliable historian examines the sources for himself and at the same time takes advantage of the information and suggestions and interpretations of scholars who have preceded him. Much depends on the attitude of the historian, on his insight, fairness, and literary skill. At best there is a good deal of conjecture when the sources are scanty, as they always are before one reaches the days of printing.

No improvement in the methods of historical study in our colleges bids fair to produce better results than encouraging some reading of the first-hand accounts of the past, or, as they are technically called, the *primary sources*.

This term may perhaps call up in the minds of some the vision of a solitary stoop-shouldered, spectacled enthusiast, engaged in painfully deciphering obscure Latin abbreviations on yellow parchment. But it is a mistake to conclude that the primary sources are always difficult to get at, dull, and hard to read. On the contrary, they are sometimes ready to hand, and are often more vivid and entertaining than even the most striking descriptions from the pen of gifted writers like Gibbon or Macaulay.

The best secondary authorities stand to the sources somewhat as the description of a work of art or of a masterpiece of literature stands to the original. Just as we cannot afford to ignore the picture itself or the great poem or drama, and confine ourselves to someone else's account of it, so in our historical work we ought to grasp every opportunity of examining for ourselves the foundations upon which history rests.

It may, of course, be urged that the trained historian, after acquainting himself with the men and the circumstances of a particular period, can make better use of the sources than any relatively unskilled student. But, admitting the force of this argument, there is nevertheless so much to be learned from a

study of the original accounts that cannot be reproduced by the most skilled hand, that no earnest student or reader can afford to content himself with merely second-hand descriptions when primary sources are available.

The sources are unconsciously molded by the spirit of the time in which they were written. Every line gives some hint of the period in which the author lived and makes an impression upon us which volumes of second-hand accounts can never produce. The mere information, too, comes to us in a form which we do not easily forget. The facts sink into our memory in a curious way when they are given to us in a contemporaneous setting.

One who actually talked with Attila, the king of the Huns, or who witnessed the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders, or who knew Marie Antoinette, is clearly more likely to excite our interest than a writer of our own day, however much he may have studied the invasion of the Huns, the First Crusade, or the history of Louis XVI and his Austrian wife.

It makes no great impression upon us to be told that the scholars of Dante's time had begun to be interested once more in the books of the Greeks and Romans; but no one can forget Dante's own poetic account of his kindly reception in the lower regions by souls of the ancient writers whom he revered,—Virgil, Homer, Ovid, Horace,—people "with eyes slow and grave, of great authority in their looks," who "spake seldom and with soft voices."

Even a little experience with the sources of our knowledge of history not only makes men of the past far more real than they could otherwise seem to us, but it cultivates our sense of the limits of evidence. We do not merely accept statements: we begin to wonder about their accuracy and the motives of those who made them. We no longer merely read and memorize, but criticize as well. The power to make allowances is not only necessary in scholarly work but is of the utmost importance when we read the daily newspaper, which is a very

good source compared with many upon which we have to rely for our knowledge of history. Yet if we happen to know of the events narrated in a newspaper article, they rarely correspond to our own impressions.

The same is true of all sources, whether of yesterday or of today. To take a single historical illustration: one cannot fail to see from a study of the sources that Luther was exceedingly unfair to his enemies, ascribing their conduct to evil motives when they were acting quite consistently and according to what they considered the truth. His opponents treated him with equal unfairness and proclaimed him a wicked and profligate man because he refused to accept their views.

We meet precisely the same unfairness nowadays; for instance, in the case of a municipal election, where each party speaks only evil of the other. It is, however, not so hard to look impartially at the motives and conduct of men who lived long ago as it is to be fair-minded in matters which very deeply interest us personally. By cultivating sympathy and impartiality in dealing with the past we may hope to reach a point where we can view the present coolly and temperately. In this way really thoughtful historical study serves to develop the very fundamental virtues of sympathy, fairness, and caution in forming our judgments.

Even as lately as a hundred years ago the path to the sources of European history was still a thorny one. The manuscripts of historical importance were often scattered about in innumerable small collections. The documents were often carelessly transcribed, and illegible except to those specially versed in the art of deciphering ancient handwriting. There were usually no catalogues and nothing to guide the investigator. He was forced to travel from place to place and turn over masses of worthless or irrelevant matter in the painful quest for the little which might be useful to him.

But all this is now changed. The scholar may now sit at a convenient desk in a comfortable, well-lighted library; he has

before him catalogues which enable him to find what he wants and clearly printed books edited by careful experts. Errors have been eliminated and difficult passages annotated. The works he consults have often been carefully analyzed and supplied with an index, so that one may discover in a few moments those paragraphs which have to do with the subject in hand.

The task of rendering the historical sources available has been a long and arduous one, and has been going on for three or four hundred years. As early as the sixteenth century scholars began to bring together the medieval chronicles and print them in convenient collections. In the time of Louis XIV a group of Benedictine monks in France won new distinction for their order by publishing several admirable series and by preparing treatises to facilitate historical research.

The nineteenth century witnessed a development of critical scientific standards that made it necessary to revise many sources which had previously appeared in defective form. Moreover, thousands of volumes of precious material previously available only in manuscript have been printed in convenient form.

Few of those who wish to know something of the past can reach a large library conveniently or read Latin, French, German, Italian, and other languages sufficiently well to get much advantage from the sources in their original form. But recently a good many so-called source books have been published which give extracts in English from the original sources. These extracts are chosen with the aim of giving life and reality to the historical manuals which have no room for more than an occasional short quotation from the sources. Examples of such source books will be given in the course of this narrative.[1]

[1] As a supplement to the original edition of this manual a selection from the sources, called *Readings in European History*, was prepared; it gives not only many interesting examples of the sources but a fairly full account of the range and extent of the original information which we have for the various periods included in these volumes.

The Upshot of History

After the tremendous havoc of the World War, Europe found itself weakened, impoverished, and full of perplexities and recurring disorder. An English novelist, H. G. Wells, turned aside from his usual literary tasks to write a history, since he believed that only a knowledge of history could save the world from ever-renewed desolation in which our hard-wrought civilization might decline or perish altogether. He writes in his introduction as follows:

> The need for a common knowledge of the general facts of human history throughout the world has become very evident during the tragic happenings of the last few years. Swifter means of communication have brought all men closer to one another for good or for evil. War becomes a universal disaster, blind and monstrously destructive; it bombs the baby in its cradle and sinks the food-ships that cater for the non-combatant and the neutral. There can be no peace now, we realize, but a common peace in all the world; no prosperity but a general prosperity. But *there can be no common peace and prosperity without common historical ideas.* Without such ideas to hold them together in harmonious co-operation, with nothing but narrow, selfish, and conflicting nationalist traditions, races and peoples are bound to drift towards conflict and destruction. . . . A sense of history as the common adventure of all mankind is as necessary for peace within as it is for peace between the nations.[1]

Although we shall confine our account mainly to western Europe during the past fifteen hundred years, as time goes on we shall find our story broadening out, so that before we get through we shall need to say something, at least, of almost every part of the globe. And our narrative will in this way contribute to a sense of "history as the common adventure of all mankind" in which all nations and peoples and races now have a part.

[1] H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History.*

CHAPTER II

WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

The Roman Empire

No one can hope to understand the so-called Middle Ages who does not first learn something of the Roman Empire, within whose bounds the German barbarians set up their kingdoms and the long process began of creating modern Europe, including her colonies and offspring in the new world across the seas.

At the opening of the fifth century there were no separate, independent states in Europe such as we find on the map today. The whole territory now occupied by England, France, Spain, and Italy formed at that time only a part of the vast realms ruled over by the Roman Emperor and his host of officials. As for Germany, it was still a region of forests, familiar only to the barbarous and half-savage tribes who inhabited them. The Romans tried in vain to conquer this part of Europe, and finally had to content themselves with keeping the German hordes out of the Empire by means of fortifications and guards along the Rhine and Danube rivers.

The Roman Empire, which embraced southern and western Europe, Western Asia, and even the northern portion of Africa, included the most diverse peoples and races. Egyptians, Arabs, Jews, Greeks, Germans, Gauls, Britons, Iberians—all alike were under the sovereign rule of Rome. A single great state embraced nomad shepherds, who spread their tents on the borders of Sahara; mountaineers in the fastnesses of Wales; and the citizens of Athens, Alexandria, and Rome, heirs to all

the luxury and learning of the ages. Whether one lived in York or Jerusalem, Carthage or Vienna, he paid his taxes into the same treasury, he was tried by the same law, and he looked to the same armies for protection.

At first it seems incredible that this huge empire, which included African and Asiatic peoples as well as the most various races of Europe in all stages of civilization, could have held together for five centuries instead of falling to pieces (as might have been expected) long before the barbarians came in sufficient strength to establish their own kingdoms in its midst. However, it is easy to understand the permanence of the Empire when we consider the bonds of union which held the state together. These were (1) the government, so ingeniously organized that it penetrated to every part of the realm and allowed little to escape it; (2) the worship of the Emperor as the incarnation of the government; (3) the Roman law in force everywhere; (4) the admirable roads and the uniform system of coinage which encouraged intercommunication; and (5) the teachers maintained by the government, for through them the same ideas and culture were carried to even the most distant parts of the Empire.

Let us first glance at the government and the Emperor. His decrees were dispatched throughout the length and breadth of the Roman dominions; whatsoever pleased him became law, according to the well-known principle of the Roman constitution. While the cities were permitted some freedom in the regulation of their purely local affairs, the Emperor and his innumerable and marvelously organized officials kept an eye upon even the humblest citizen. The Roman government, besides maintaining order, administering justice, and defending the boundaries, assumed many other responsibilities. It watched the grain dealers, butchers, and bakers; saw that they properly supplied the public and never deserted their occupations. In some cases it forced the son to follow the profession of his father. If it could have had its way, it would have had

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50
45
40
35
30
25
HIBERNIA
Wall of Hadrian
York
BRITANNIA
Rhine R.
Colonia Agrippina
Elbe R.
Loire R.
GAUL
RAETIA
NORICUM
Vindobon
Burdigala
Garonne R.
Mediolanum (Milan)
Aquileia
Ebro R.
Toloso
Arelate
Narbo
Po R.
Rhone R.
Ravenna
SPAIN
Tarraco
CORSICA
ROME
Fidenæ
Ostia
SARDINIA
Capua
Puteoli
Herculaneum
Baiæ
Naples
Pompeii
Gades
New Carthage
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
Carthage
SICILY
Syracuse
AFRICA
THE ROMAN EMPIRE
AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT
(Under Trajan, A. D. 98-117)
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700
Scale of Miles.

25
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50
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40
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30
25
Sarmatians
DACIA
later or Danube R.
MŒSIA
EDONIA
THRACE
Byzantium
Herakleia
Chersonesus
Nicomedia
Halys R.
COLCHIS
IBERIA
ALBANIA
Artaxata
CAPPADOCIA PONTUS
ARMENIA
Tigris R.
ASSYRIA
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
Edessa
Nisibis
Nineveh
ASIA
CAPPADOCIA
CILICIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Issus
Antioch
Euphrates R.
PAMPHYLIA
SYRIA
Emesa
Palmyra
Seleuch
Babylon
Corinth
CHAIA
CRETE
CYPRUS
Cæsarea
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
Petra
Alexandria
yrene
RENAICA
EGYPT
Nile R.
ARABIA

everyone belong to a definite class of society, and his children after him. It kept the unruly poorer classes quiet in the towns by furnishing them with bread and sometimes with wine, meat, and clothes. It provided amusement for them by expensive entertainments, such as races and gladiatorial combats. In a word, the Roman government was not only so organized that it penetrated to the utmost confines of its territory but it attempted to guard and regulate almost every interest in life.

Everyone was required to join in the worship of the Emperor, because he stood for the majesty of the Roman dominion. The inhabitants of each province might revere their particular gods, undisturbed by the government, but all were obliged as good citizens to join in the official sacrifices to the deified head of the State. The early Christians were persecuted not chiefly because their religion was different from that of their fellows but because they refused to offer homage to the image of the Emperor and openly prophesied the downfall of the Roman State. Their religion was incompatible with what was then deemed good citizenship, inasmuch as it forbade them to express the required veneration of the government.

As there was one government, so there was one law for all the civilized world. Local differences were not considered; the same principles of reason, justice, and humanity were believed to hold whether the Roman citizen lived upon the Euphrates or the Thames. The law of the Roman Empire is its chief legacy to posterity. Its provisions are still in force in many of the states of Europe today, and it is one of the subjects of study in our American universities. It exhibited a humanity unknown to the earlier legal codes. The wife, the mother, and the infant were protected from the arbitrary power of the head of the house, who, in earlier centuries, had been privileged to treat the members of his family as slaves. It held that it was better that a guilty person should escape than that an innocent person should be condemned. It conceived humanity not as a group of nations and tribes, each with its peculiar institutions

and legal customs, but as one people included in one great empire and subject to a single system of law based upon reason and equity.

Magnificent roads were constructed which enabled the messengers of the government and its armies to reach every part of the Empire with great speed for those days. These highways made commerce easy and encouraged merchants and travelers to visit the most distant portions of the realm. Everywhere they found the same coins and the same system of weights and measures. Colonies were sent out to the confines of the Empire; and the remains of great public buildings, of theaters and bridges, of sumptuous villas and baths at places like Trèves, Cologne, Bath, and Salzburg, indicate how thoroughly the influence and civilization of Rome penetrated to the utmost parts of the territory subject to her rule.

The government encouraged education by supporting at least three teachers in every town of any considerable importance. They taught rhetoric and oratory and explained the works of the great writers. The Romans, who possessed no marked literary or artistic ability, had, as we shall see, adopted the culture of the Greeks. This was spread abroad by the government teachers, so that an educated man was pretty sure to find, even in the outlying parts of the great empire, other educated men with much the same interests and ideas as his own. Everywhere men felt themselves to be not mere natives of this or that land but citizens of the world.

During the four centuries from the first emperor, Augustus, to the barbarian invasions we hear of no attempt on the part of its subjects to overthrow the Empire or to secede from it. The Roman State, it was universally believed, was to endure forever. Had a rebellious nation succeeded in throwing off the rule of the Emperor and establishing its independence, it would only have found itself outside the civilized world.

The Decline of the Roman Empire

Just why the Roman government, once so powerful and so universally respected, finally became unable longer to defend its borders and gave way before the scattered attacks of the German peoples, who never combined in any general alliance against it, is a very difficult question to answer satisfactorily. The inhabitants of the Empire appear gradually to have lost their energy and self-reliance and to have become less and less prosperous. This may be explained partially, at least, by the following considerations: (1) the terrible system of taxation, which discouraged and not infrequently ruined the members of the wealthier classes; (2) the existence of slavery, which served to discredit honest labor and demoralized the free workingmen; (3) the steady deterioration of the land, which was not properly fertilized, and the consequent decrease of population; (4) the infiltration of barbarians, who prepared the way for the conquest of the western portion of the Empire by their fellow barbarians.

It required a great deal of money to support the luxurious court of the emperors and their innumerable officials and servants, and to supply "bread and circuses" for the populace of the towns. All sorts of taxes and exactions were consequently devised by ingenious officials to make up the necessary revenue. The crushing burden of the great land tax, the Emperor's chief source of income, was greatly increased by the pernicious way in which it was collected. The government made a group of the richer citizens in each of the towns permanently responsible for the whole amount due from all the landowners within their district. It was their business to collect the taxes and make up any deficiency, it mattered not from what cause. This responsibility and the weight of the taxes themselves ruined so many landowners that the government was forced to decree that no one should desert his estates in order to escape the exactions. Only the very rich could stand the drain on their resources.

The middle class sank into poverty and despair, and in this way the Empire lost just that prosperous class of citizens who should have been the leaders in business enterprises.

The sad plight of the poorer laboring classes was due largely to the institution of slavery which prevailed everywhere in ancient times. So soon as the Romans had begun to conquer distant provinces, the number of slaves greatly increased. For six or seven centuries before the barbarian invasions every kind of labor fell largely into their hands in both country and town. There were millions of them. A single rich landholder might own hundreds and even thousands, and it was a poor man that did not have several at least.

Land was the only highly esteemed form of wealth in the Roman Empire, in spite of the heavy taxes imposed upon it. Without large holdings of land no one could hope to enjoy a high social position or an honorable office under the government. Consequently the land came gradually into the hands of the rich and ambitious, and the small landed proprietor disappeared. Great estates, called *villas*, covered Italy, Gaul, and Britain. These were cultivated by armies of slaves, who not only tilled the land but also supplied their master, his household, and themselves with all that was needed on the plantation. The artisans among them made the tools, garments, and other manufactured articles necessary for the whole community, or "family," as it was called. Slaves cooked the food, waited on the proprietor, wrote his letters, and read to him. The whole management of the villa was intrusted to a head slave. A villa might be as extensive as a large village, but all its members were under the absolute control of the proprietor of the estate. A well-organized villa could supply itself with everything that it needed, and found little or no reason for buying from any outsider.

Quite naturally freemen came to scorn all manual labor and even trade, for these occupations were associated in their minds with the despised slave. Seneca, the philosopher, angrily re-

jects the suggestion that the practical arts were invented by a philosopher: they were, he declares, "thought out by the meanest bondsman."

Slavery did more than bring manual labor into disrepute—it largely monopolized the labor market. Each great household where articles of luxury were in demand relied upon its own host of dexterous and efficient slaves to produce them. Moreover, the owners of slaves frequently hired them out to those who needed workmen, or permitted them to work for wages, and in this way brought them into a competition with the free workman which was fatal to him.

It cannot be denied that a notable improvement in the condition of the slaves took place during the centuries immediately preceding the barbarian invasions. Their owners abandoned the horrible subterranean prisons in which the farm hands were once miserably huddled at night. The law, moreover, protected the slave from some of the worst forms of abuse; first and foremost, it deprived his master of the right to kill him. Slaves, moreover, began to decrease in numbers before the German invasions. In the first place, the supply had been cut off after the Roman armies ceased to conquer new territory; in the second place, masters had for various reasons, which are not very clear, begun to emancipate their slaves on a large scale.

The freed slave was called a *freedman*, but he was by no means in the position of one who was born free. It is true that he was no longer a chattel, a mere thing, but he had still to serve his former master—who had now become his patron—for a certain number of days in the year. He was obliged to pay him a part of his earnings and could not marry without his patron's consent.

Yet as the condition of the slaves improved and many of them became freedmen the state of the poor *freeman* only became worse. In the towns, if he tried to earn his living, he was forced to mingle with those slaves who were permitted to work

for wages and with the freedmen, and he naturally tended to sink to their level. In the country the free agricultural laborers became *coloni*, a curious intermediate class, neither slave nor really free. They were bound to the particular bit of land which some great proprietor permitted them to cultivate, and were sold with it if it changed hands. Like the medieval *serf*, they could not be deprived of their fields so long as they handed over to the owner a certain part of their crop and worked for him during a period fixed by the customs of the domain upon which they lived. This system made it impossible for the farmer to become independent or for his son to be better off than he. The coloni and the more fortunate slaves tended to fuse into a single class; for the law provided that, like the coloni, certain classes of country slaves were not to be taken from the field which they had been accustomed to cultivate, but were to go with it if it was sold.

Moreover, it often happened that the Roman proprietor had a number of dependents among the less fortunate landowners in his neighborhood. These, in order to escape the taxes and gain his protection as the times became more disorderly, surrendered their land to their powerful neighbor with the understanding that he should defend them and permit them to continue during their lifetime to cultivate the fields the title to which had passed to him. On their death their children became coloni. All these various arrangements, as we shall find, serve in a measure to explain feudalism and the medieval manors of later times.

When a country is prosperous, the population tends to increase. In the Roman Empire, even as early as Augustus, a falling off in numbers was apparent, which was bound to sap the vitality of the state. War, plague, the evil results of slavery, reckless exhaustion of the fields, and the outrageous taxation all combined to hasten the depopulation; for when it is hard to make a living, men are deterred from marrying and find it difficult to bring up large families.

In order to replenish the population great numbers of the Germans were encouraged to settle within the Empire, where they became coloni. Constantine is said to have called in three hundred thousand of a single people. Barbarians were enlisted in the Roman legions to keep out their fellow Germans who were pressing into the empire. Julius Cæsar was the first to give them a place among his soldiers. The expedient became more and more common, until, finally, whole armies were German, entire tribes being enlisted under their own chiefs. Some of the Germans rose to be distinguished generals; others attained important positions among the officials of the government. In this way it came about that a great many of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire were Germans before the great invasions. There was much intermarrying, even among the high officials, and seemingly little or no race feeling to keep apart the newcomers and the older inhabitants of the Empire. The line dividing the Roman and the barbarian was growing indistinct.

The Subsidence of Art and Learning

In the realms of literature, art, and science the Roman Empire was a recent upstart compared with some of the countries it included. Three centuries before the opening of the Christian Era, Roman rule was confined to little patches in central Italy, southward from the Tiber. From that time its conquests were rapid, and it added to its dominions the highly civilized Greek colonies of southern Italy, downed its commercial enemy Carthage, and conquered Greece itself, Syria, and Egypt. In this way the Romans, who had been an illiterate people, were brought in contact with far older and higher civilizations. The Romans had hitherto been in a sense barbarians themselves, who had succeeded in vanquishing peoples greatly their superiors in knowledge and art and the refinements of life, just as, later, the crude German barbarians were destined, in turn, to overrun the Roman Empire, with its highly developed culture.

European civilization did not originate in Europe but in Egypt and Western Asia and the isles of the eastern Mediterranean. A thousand years before Rome's rise the Greeks had been barbarians overrunning and destroying for a time civilizations greatly in advance of their own primitive knowledge and inventions; but as time went on they carried literature and art far beyond any previous people and became the chief teachers of the Romans. The first Roman books we now read are the comedies of Plautus and Terence (d. about 160 B.C.), who translated and adapted the amusing plays of Athens for Roman audiences. Cicero studied in Greece and used Greek books as the basis of his little manuals of philosophy; Virgil was always thinking of Homer when he wrote the Æneid; Horace tried to squeeze Roman verse into the alien measures of the Greeks; Ovid told over in Latin verse the myths of the Greeks; the elder Pliny relied on Greek science in compiling his encyclopedia (*Natural History*); Plutarch, a Greek, wrote his famous *Lives* in the Greek language, as did Strabo his *Geography*, and even the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius kept his moral diary (*Thoughts*) in Greek. Roman architecture and painting and sculpture were all deeply influenced by Greek models. So the conquering Romans were "led captive" by those they conquered, in all the higher and rarer things of life, not only in literature, art, and science but also in religion, since their later religions came from Egypt and Syria, including Christianity, which was finally to prevail in the Empire. It had its origin in Palestine and was set forth in a Greek book, the New Testament.

This is a matter of the utmost importance, since the western portions of the Roman Empire—from which modern Europe was to spring and, in time, our own civilization—were gradually separated from the Greek East. Greek was forgotten in the turmoil of the barbarian invasions, and what the Middle Ages knew of ancient learning, literature, thought, and art came to them in the Latin books, which they continued to be

able to read. Consequently our modern civilization and science are reared largely on the second-hand Roman version of Greek culture. This will become apparent as we proceed.[1]

As the Empire declined in strength and prosperity and was gradually permeated by the barbarians, its art and literature fell far below the standard of the great writers and artists of the golden age of Augustus. The sculpture of Constantine's time was far inferior to that of Trajan's. Cicero's exquisitely finished style lost its charm for the readers of the fourth and fifth centuries, and a flowery, intricate, inferior species of oratory took its place. Tacitus, who died about A.D. 120, is perhaps the latest of the Latin authors whose works may be ranked among the classics. No more great men of letters arose. Few of those who understand and enjoy Latin literature today would think of reading any of the poetry or prose written after the beginning of the second century.

During the three hundred years before the invasions those who read at all did not ordinarily take the trouble to study the classics, but relied upon mere collections of quotations and, for what they called science, upon compendiums and manuals. These the Middle Ages inherited; and it was not until the time of Petrarch, in the fourteenth century, that Europe once more reached a degree of cultivation which enabled the more discriminating scholars to appreciate the best productions of the great authors of antiquity, both Greek and Latin.

How Christian Ideas supplanted the Older Religious Beliefs

In spite of the general decline of which we have been speaking, one great, new institution, the Christian Church, was developing under the Roman Empire. It was destined

[1] For the development of the ancient world from which the Romans derived their borrowed civilization see Breasted's *Ancient Times* or, more shortly, his *Survey of the Ancient World*; also J. H. Robinson's *Mind in the Making*, sects. iii–v.

to permeate and control the life and thought of Europe all through the Middle Ages and to exercise a decisive influence down to our own times. It was by no means merely a religious organization, as churches are now, but became a great international State, embracing all western Europe. It was the real successor of the Roman Empire. In order to understand European history it is absolutely essential to have some knowledge of the Church.

The Greeks and Romans were religious: they erected temples to their various deities; they prayed to their gods and offered sacrifices to them. But they had no such thing as a "universal" Church. One who denied the existence of the gods was looked upon with abhorrence, but everyone was left free to form such ideas as he might of the nature of the gods. There was general religious tolerance. Indeed, it was recognized that each town or people might have its particular gods to whom special honors were paid without thereby casting any aspersions on the gods of others. There is a beautiful passage in the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder, written in St. Paul's time, in which he says, "Frail and struggling humanity, mindful of its weakness, has emphasized the various aspects of the Divine so that everyone might cherish or worship that which most appealed to his special needs." That is to say, each could call upon the god that seemed likely to be most helpful, just as the Christians later had their patron saints whom they revered and prayed to.

This idea of "the heavenly powers" is usually called *polytheism*, or the belief in many gods; and it is commonly sharply contrasted with *monotheism*, or belief in one God, which the Christians derived from the Hebrews. But thoughtful pagans often wrote as if they believed in one supreme God; and the Christians taught that there were great numbers of supernatural beings, good and evil,—angels and saints on the one hand, and Satan and his host on the other. Indeed, the early Christians believed that all the pagan gods, such as Venus and

Bacchus, really existed, but they declared that they were wicked demons.

Formerly Christian writers dwelt almost exclusively on the differences between their religion and all others. They were loath to recognize that all religions resemble one another in some respects and that many of the Christian ideas were similar to those held by pagan thinkers. During the past fifty years the study of comparative religion has developed, and this has revealed the fact that much borrowing and lending goes on in the history of religious beliefs and institutions. To give two examples: The Stoics, who formed an important sect or school, believed, like the Christians, in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Three centuries before the opening of the Christian Era, Cleanthes, an early Stoic, wrote his famous hymn to the Supreme Being:

> Almighty for ever, Sovereign of Nature that rulest by law, what name shall we give Thee? Blessed be Thou! for on Thee should call all that are mortal. For we are Thine offspring. . . . Naught is done without Thee in the earth or the waters or in the heights of heaven, save the deed of the fool and the sinner. Thou canst make rough things smooth; at Thy voice, lo, jarring disorder moveth to music and Love is born where hatred abounded.

To the Stoic, man's duty was always to be praising God for all the wonders of creation. Epictetus, in his lectures at the end of the first century, says, "Our duty is to follow God, to be of one mind with Him and to devote ourselves to the performance of his commands." All this sounds as if it might have been written by a Christian.

As a second example of how other religions resembled Christianity one may take that of the Persian Zoroaster, who, long before the Greek civilization reached its height, had taught that the world was an arena in which the Good and the Bad were in deadly conflict. The sun was to him the symbol of the powers of light. Man's fate depended on whether he

fought for the Light or the Darkness. From Zoroaster's teachings two great religions developed which had many followers under the Roman Empire. There was the worship of the savior Mithras, with its baptism and cleansing from sin, its communion, its observance of Sunday and celebration of the Christmas season, when the sun began once more to regain its power. Then there were the Manichæans, whom the Christians detested and slandered. They rejected the Old Testament as the work of the devil, but accepted the New Testament and believed in a final judgment and the separation of the good from the bad in heaven and hell.

Thus in the early centuries of our era Christianity was in bitter rivalry with many other religions which promised salvation, escape from the burden of sin, and a happy existence hereafter for those who faithfully performed the appropriate rites.

Christianity also brought with it hope for all those who would escape from the bondage of sin, of which the serious-minded were becoming more and more conscious. It promised eternal happiness after death to all who would consistently strive to do right. It appealed to the desires and needs of all kinds of men and women. For everyone who accepted the Gospel might look forward in the next world to such joy as he could never hope to experience in this.

The new religion, as it spread from Palestine among the Gentiles, was much modified by the religious ideas of those who accepted it. In many instances the former modes of worship were accepted by the new religion. From simple beginnings the Church developed a distinct priesthood and an elaborate service. In this way Christianity and the higher forms of paganism tended to come nearer and nearer to each other as time went on. In one sense, it is true, they met like armies in mortal conflict; but at the same time they tended to merge into one another, like streams which had been following converging courses. At the confluence of the streams stands

Boethius (d. about 525), the most gifted of the later Roman writers. His beautiful book, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, was one of the most popular works during the Middle Ages, when everyone believed that its author was a Christian. Yet there is nothing in the book to indicate that he was more than a religious pagan, and some scholars have doubted if he ever fully accepted the new religion.

Beginnings of the Christian Church

We learn from the letters of St. Paul that the earliest Christian communities found it necessary to have some organization. They chose certain officers, the bishops (that is to say, overseers), and the presbyters or elders; but St. Paul does not tell us exactly what were the duties of these officers. There were also the deacons, who appear to have had the care of the poor of the community. The first Christians looked for the speedy coming of Christ before their own generation should pass away. Since all were filled with enthusiasm for the Gospel and eagerly awaited the last day, they did not feel the need of an elaborate constitution. But as time went on, the Christian communities greatly increased in size, and many joined them who had little or none of the original fervor and spirituality. It became necessary to develop a regular system of Church government, in order to control the erring and expel those who brought disgrace upon their religion by notoriously bad conduct.

A famous little book, *The Unity of the Church*, by Bishop Cyprian (d. 258) gives us a pretty good idea of the Church a few decades before the Christian religion was legalized by Constantine. This and other sources indicate that the followers of Christ had already come to believe in a "Catholic" (that is, a universal) Church which embraced all the communities of true believers wherever they might be. To this one universal Church all must belong who hoped to be saved. Whoever separates himself from the Church, writes Cyprian,

is separated from the promises of the Church. "He is an alien, he is profane, he is an enemy, he can no longer have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother. If anyone could escape who was outside the Ark of Noah, so also may he escape who shall be outside the bounds of the Church."

A sharp distinction was already made between the officers of the Church, who were called the *clergy*, and the people, or *laity*. To the clergy was committed the government of the Church as well as the instruction of its members. In each of the Roman cities was a bishop, and at the head of the country communities a priest (Latin *presbyter*), who had succeeded to the original elders (presbyters) mentioned in the New Testament. Below the bishop and the priest were the lower orders of the clergy,—the deacon and subdeacon,—and below these the so-called minor orders—the acolyte, exorcist, reader, and doorkeeper. The bishop exercised a certain control over the priests within his territory. It was not unnatural that the bishops in the chief towns of the Roman provinces should be especially influential in Church affairs. They came to be called *archbishops*, and might summon the bishops of the province to a council to decide important matters.

The Medieval Church Foreshadowed in the Roman Law

In 311 the emperor Galerius, ill and anxious to have all the heavenly powers propitiated, issued a decree placing the worship of the Christians' God upon the same legal footing as paganism. Constantine, the first Christian emperor, carefully enforced this edict. In 325 the first general council of Christendom was called together under his auspices at Nicæa. It is clear from the decrees of this famous assembly that the Catholic Church had already assumed the form that it was to retain down to the present moment, except that there was no explicit recognition of the bishop of Rome as the head of the whole Church. Nevertheless there were a number of reasons—to be

discussed later—why the bishop of Rome should sometime become the acknowledged ruler of western Christendom. The first of the Roman bishops to play a really important part in authentic history was Leo the Great, who did not take office until 440.

Constantine's successors soon harshly forbade pagan practices and began to issue laws which gave the Christian clergy important privileges.

When, under Theodosius II, a collection of the laws of the Roman Empire was published (438), the edicts which had been issued by Constantine and the succeeding emperors in regard to the Christian religion—the privileges of the clergy, the status of heretics, etc.—were conveniently brought together in the last book of the new code. The very first title, *On the Catholic Faith*, makes it clear that the government would tolerate no one who disagreed with the particular form of Christian belief which the State chose to sanction.

> We desire that all those who are under the sway of our clemency shall adhere to that religion which, according to his own testimony, coming down even to our own day, the blessed apostle Peter delivered to the Romans, namely, the doctrine which the pontiff Damasus [bishop of Rome] and Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic sanctity, accept. According to the teachings of the apostles and of the Gospel we believe in one Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the blessed Trinity, alike in majesty.
>
> We ordain that the name of Catholic Christians shall apply to all those who obey this present law. All others we judge to be mad and demented; we declare them guilty of the infamy of holding heretical doctrine; their assemblies shall not receive the name of churches. They shall first suffer the wrath of God, then the punishment which in accordance with divine judgment we shall inflict [A.D. 380].

The emperors showed themselves ready to exempt the orthodox clergy from the various taxes and other public burdens imposed by the State, but upon condition that only poor men should become clerics. No decurion—that is to say, one rich

enough to assume the heavy responsibilities which the government threw upon the wealthier class—might join the clergy.

Those who exercise the functions of divine worship, that is to say those who are called clerics [*clerici*], shall be exempt from all public burdens, lest otherwise they might be called away from their sacred duties through some one's malicious interference [A.D. 319].

Immunity from public burdens is to be granted neither by custom nor upon any one's plea that he is a clergyman; nor may persons join the order of the clergy easily or in too great numbers. He shall not be of decurion rank by descent, nor possess sufficient means easily to bear the public burdens. Should doubt arise between a city and the clergy in regard to any candidate, if justice indicates that he should bear the public burdens and he should appear, either by descent or owing to his patrimony, to be suitable for the rank of decurion, he shall leave the clergy and be turned over to the city. For it is proper that the rich should bear the burdens of the world and that the poor should be supported by the wealth of the Church [A.D. 326].

From public burdens and from every disquietude of civil office all clerics shall be free, and their sons shall continue in the Church if they are not subject to public responsibilities [A.D. 349].

We decree that all priests, deacons, subdeacons, exorcists, lectors, and doorkeepers, likewise all who are in higher orders, shall be free from personal taxes [A.D. 377].[1]

Every one shall have the right, when he is dying, to leave so much of his goods as he will to the holy and Catholic Church [A.D. 321].

It is right that clerics, whether they be bishops, priests, deacons, or those of lower rank, ministers of the Christian law, should be accused only before a bishop—unless there is some reason why the case should be considered elsewhere [A.D. 412].

Minor civil cases and those where Church rites were involved were also to be tried by ecclesiastics. These provisions were the beginning of *benefit of clergy* and of the vast jurisdiction of the medieval Church. The privileges which were

[1] Church lands, however, were by no means to be exempted from the land tax, nor were the clergy to engage in trade on any considerable scale without paying the tax to which lay tradesmen were subject.

granted on religious grounds were to apply only to the orthodox clergy, and all heretics and schismatics were not only excluded from privileges but made subject to various burdens by an edict of 326.

The same spirit of active and cruel religious intolerance which appears in the medieval laws of the thirteenth century is found in the provisions of the Theodosian Code. They declared that certain heretics (for example, the Manichæans) should lose the right to bequeath and inherit property. Illegal bequests of heretics were to revert to the public treasury. Heretics were to be heavily fined, and in some cases were excluded from the army. Slaves might be beaten into the orthodox faith. One edict (407) deprives convicted Manichæans of the right of buying, selling, or entering into any contract, on the ground that "this kind of man has nothing in common with other men, either in customs or laws." Even the dead, if they proved to have been tainted with Manichæan heresy, were to have their wills invalidated. In 409 the following edict was issued:

Lest the Donatists and other deluded heretics, and those who, like the Jews and the Gentiles (commonly called pagans), cannot be brought into the communion of the Catholic religion, should conclude that the force of the laws formerly directed against them has declined, let all the magistrates take note that those provisions of the law are to be faithfully observed, and that they should not hesitate to enforce all that we have decreed against the heretics.

Whenever an assembly of Manichæans is discovered, let their teachers be heavily fined. Those who are in attendance should be cast out from among their fellow-men as infamous and discredited. The houses or dwelling places in which their profane doctrines are taught should be confiscated by the government [A.D. 372].

Clerics adhering to the Eunomian or Montanist superstition shall be excluded from all intercourse with any city or town. Should any of these heretics sojourning in the country attempt to gather the people together or collect an assembly, let them be sent into perpetual exile. . . . We command that their books, which contain the substance of their criminal teachings, be sought out with the utmost

care and burnt with fire under the eyes of the magistrates. Should any one perchance be convicted of concealing, through deceit or otherwise, and of failing to produce, any work of this kind, let him know that as the possessor of harmful books written with criminal intent he shall suffer capital punishment [A.D. 398].[1]

In these provisions of the Theodosian Code the later medieval Church is clearly foreshadowed. The imperial government in the West was soon overthrown by the barbarian conquerors, but the Catholic Church conquered and absorbed the conquerors. When the officers of the Empire deserted their posts, the bishops stayed to meet the oncoming invader. They continued to represent the old civilization and ideas of order. It was the Church that kept the Latin language alive among those who knew only a rude German dialect. It was the Church that maintained some little education in even the darkest period of confusion, for without the ability to read Latin its services could not have been performed and its officers could not have carried on their correspondence with one another.

The Roman Empire in the East

Although the Roman Empire remained one in law, government, and culture until the Germans came in sufficient force to conquer the western portions of it, a tendency may nevertheless be noticed some time before the conquest for the eastern

[1] Early in the history of the Christian Church various sects appeared who held different opinions in regard to Christian teaching and practice. In the New Testament one finds denunciations of "false teachers" (see II Peter and Jude). The particular heresies mentioned in the passages here given from the Theodosian Code grew up later. The Donatists, named after one of their leaders, Donatus, constituted a sect in Carthage and the region around. They felt that the Church was becoming too worldly and should be confined to the truly holy and spiritual-minded. The Montanists were a somewhat older sect who accepted the claims of Montanus of Phrygia that he was a prophet in whom dwelt the Holy Spirit. They believed in the speedy coming of the Lord. The Eunomians, a sect which also grew up in Asia Minor, tended in quite another direction. They seem to have been rationalists,—extreme Arians, who denied the divinity of Christ.

and western portions to drift apart. Constantine (d. 337), who achieved his supremacy after a long struggle with his rivals, hoped to strengthen the vast state by establishing a second capital, which should lie far to the east and dominate a region very remote from Rome. Constantinople was accordingly founded, in 330, on the confines of Europe and Asia.[1] This was by no means supposed to destroy the unity of the Empire. Even when Theodosius the Great arranged (395) that both his sons should succeed him, and that one should rule in the West and one in the East, he did not intend to divide the Empire. It is true that there continued to be thereafter two emperors, each in his own capital, but they were supposed to govern one empire conjointly and in "unanimity." New laws were to be accepted by both. The writers of the time do not speak of two states, but continue to refer to "the Empire," as if the administration were still in the hands of one ruler. Indeed, the idea of one government for all civilized mankind did not pass away, but continued to influence men during the whole of the Middle Ages.

Although it was in the eastern part of the Empire that the barbarians first got a permanent foothold, the emperors at Constantinople were nevertheless able to keep at least a portion of the old possessions of the Empire under their rule for centuries after the Germans had completely conquered the West. When at last the eastern capital of the Empire fell, it was not into the hands of the Germans but into those of the Turks, who have held it since 1453.

There will be no room in this volume to follow the history of the Eastern Empire, although it cannot be entirely ignored in studying western Europe. Its language and civilization had always been Greek; and, owing to this and the influence of the Orient, its culture offers a marked contrast to that of the Latin West, which was adopted by the Germans. Learning never

[1] An older town, called Byzantium, was utilized by Constantine as the basis of his new imperial city.

died out in the East as it did in the West, nor did art reach so low an ebb, in spite of the fact that the Eastern Empire was constantly subject to attack by a great variety of barbarous invaders from Asia and northeastern Europe.

For some centuries after the disruption of the Roman Empire in the West, the capital of the Eastern Empire enjoyed the distinction of being the largest and richest city of Europe. Within its walls could be found the indications of a refinement and civilization which had almost disappeared in the Occident. Its beautiful buildings, its parks and paved streets, filled the traveler from the West with astonishment. When, during the Crusades, the Western peoples were brought into contact with the learning and culture of Constantinople, they were greatly and permanently impressed by them.

CHAPTER III

THE GERMAN INVASIONS AND THE BREAK-UP OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The Coming of the Goths

Previous to the year 375 the attempts of the Germans to penetrate into the Empire appear to have been due to their love of adventure, their hope of enjoying some of the advantages of their civilized neighbors, or the need of new lands for their increasing numbers. And the Romans, by means of their armies, their walls, and their guards, had up to this time succeeded in preventing the barbarians from violently occupying their territory. But suddenly a new force appeared which thrust the Germans out upon the weakened Empire. The Huns, a Mongolian folk from central Asia, swept down upon the Goths, who were a German tribe settled upon the Danube, and forced a part of them to seek shelter across the river, within the boundaries of the Empire. Here they soon fell out with the imperial officials, and a great battle was fought at Adrianople, in 378, in which the Goths defeated and slew the Emperor, Valens.

The Germans had now not only broken through the boundaries of the Empire but they had also learned that they could defeat the Roman legions. The battle of Adrianople may therefore be said to mark the beginning of the conquest of the western part of the Empire by the Germans. For some years, however, after the battle of Adrianople the various bands of West Goths—or Visigoths—were induced to accept the terms offered by the Emperor's officials, and some of the Goths agreed to serve as soldiers in the Roman armies.

Before long one of the German chieftains, Alaric, became dissatisfied with the treatment that he received. He collected a highly miscellaneous army, of which the nucleus consisted of West Goths, and set out for Italy. Rome fell into his hands in 410 and was plundered by his followers. Alaric appears to have been deeply impressed by the sight of the civilization about him. He did not destroy the city, hardly even did serious damage to it, and he gave especial orders to his soldiers not to injure the churches or take their property.

St. Augustine, who was then living, gives us an idea of the impression that the capture of Rome made upon the minds of contemporaries, in an extraordinary work of his called *The City of God*. He undertakes to refute the argument of the pagans that the fall of the city was due to the anger of the old gods, and the withdrawal of their protection on account of the insults heaped upon them by the Christians, who regarded them as demons. He points out that the gods whom Æneas had brought, according to tradition, from Troy had been unable to protect the city from its enemies and asks why any reliance should be placed upon them since their transfer to Italian soil. His elaborate refutation of pagan objections shows us that heathen beliefs still had a strong hold upon an important part of the population and that the question of the truth or falsity of the pagan conceptions was still a living one in Italy.

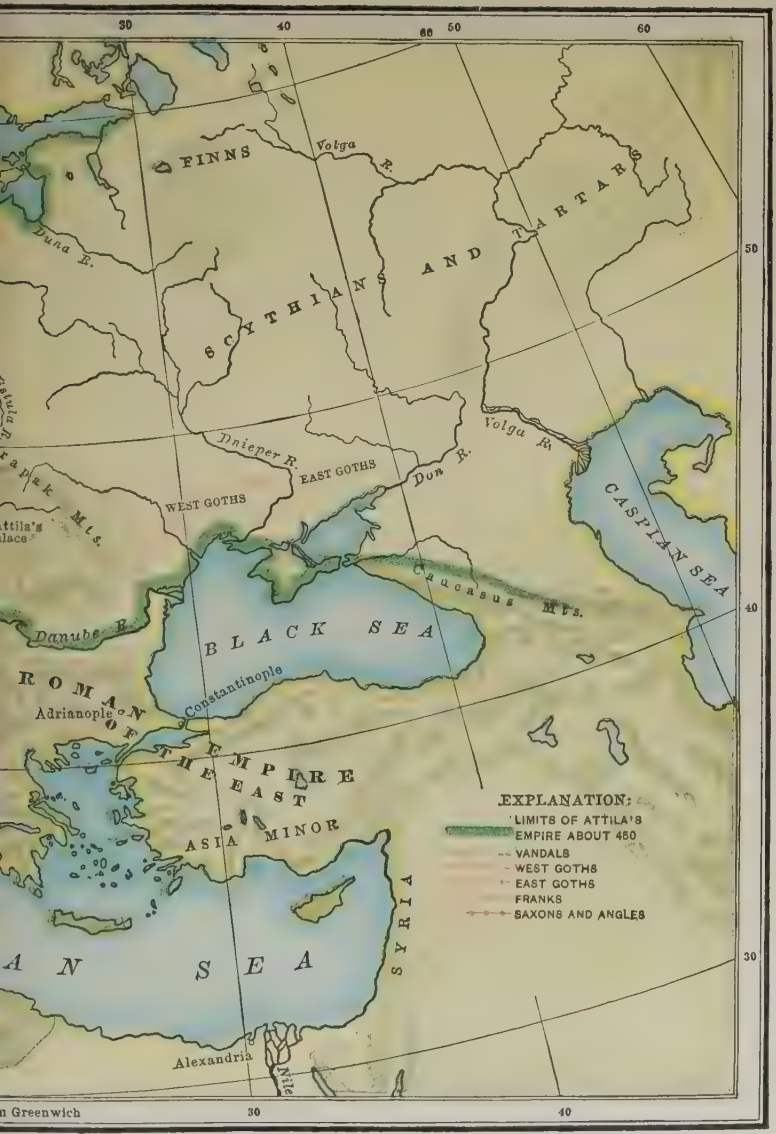
Alaric died before he could find a satisfactory spot for his people to settle upon permanently. After his death the West Goths wandered into Gaul, and then into Spain, which had already been occupied by other barbarian tribes—the Vandals and Suevi. These had crossed the Rhine into Gaul four years before Alaric took Rome; for three years they devastated the country, and then proceeded across the Pyrenees. When the West Goths reached Spain, they quickly concluded peace with the Roman government. They then set to work to fight the Vandals, with such success that the Emperor granted them a

THE MIGRATIONS OF THE GERMANS in the FIFTH CENTURY

0 100 200 300 400 500 600

Scale of Miles.

M. N. ENG., BUFFALO.


30
40
50
60
FINNS
Volga R.
Duna R.
SCYTHIANS AND TARTARS
Dnieper R.
EAST GOTHS
Don R.
Volga R.
WEST GOTHS
CASPIAN SEA
Caucasus Mts.
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE EAST
Constantinople
Adrianople
ASIA MINOR
SYRIA
EXPLANATION:
LIMITS OF ATTILA'S EMPIRE ABOUT 450
VANDALS
WEST GOTHS
EAST GOTHS
FRANKS
SAXONS AND ANGLES
Alexandria
Nile
n Greenwich
30
40

considerable district (419) in southern Gaul, where they established a West Gothic kingdom. Ten years after, the Vandals moved on into Africa, where they founded a kingdom and extended their control over the western Mediterranean. Their place in Spain was taken by the West Goths, who, under their king Euric (466–484), conquered a great part of the peninsula, so that their kingdom extended from the Loire to the Straits of Gibraltar.

It is quite unnecessary to follow the confused history of the movements of the innumerable bands of restless barbarians who wandered about Europe during the fifth century. Scarcely any part of western Europe was left unmolested; even Britain was conquered by German tribes, the Angles and Saxons.

To add to the universal confusion caused by the influx of the German tribes, the Huns (the Mongolian people who had first pushed the West Goths into the Empire) now began to fill western Europe with terror. Under their chief, Attila, the savage Huns invaded Gaul. But the Roman inhabitants and the Germans joined against the invaders and defeated them in the battle of Châlons, in 451. After this rebuff Attila turned to Italy. But the impending danger was averted. Attila was induced by an embassy, headed by Pope Leo the Great, to give up his plan of marching upon Rome. Within a year he died, and with him perished the power of the Huns, who never troubled Europe again.

The year 476 has commonly been taken as the date of the "fall" of the Western Empire and the beginning of the Middle Ages. What happened in that year was this. After Theodosius the Great, in 395, had provided that his two sons should divide the administration of the Empire between them, most of the emperors of the West had proved weak and indolent rulers. The barbarians wandered hither and thither pretty much at their pleasure, and the German troops in the service of the Empire amused themselves setting up and throwing down puppet emperors. In 476 the German mercenaries in

the Roman army demanded that a third part of Italy be given to them. On the refusal of this demand, Odoacer, their leader, banished a little boy who had been declared Emperor (his name was, by the irony of fate, Romulus Augustus the Little) to a villa near Naples. Then Odoacer requested the Eastern Emperor to permit him to rule Italy as the Emperor's delegate, thus putting an end to the line of the Western emperors.[1]

It was not, however, given to Odoacer to establish an enduring German kingdom on Italian soil, for he was conquered by the great Theodoric, the king of the East Goths (or Ostrogoths). Theodoric had spent ten years of his early youth in Constantinople and had thus become familiar with Roman life. After he had rejoined his people he had been alternately a dangerous enemy and an embarrassing friend to the Eastern Emperor. The East Goths, under his leadership, had harassed and devastated various parts of the Eastern Empire, and had once threatened the capital itself. The Emperor had repeatedly conciliated him by conferring upon him various honors and titles and by making large grants of money and land to his people. It must have been a great relief to the government when Theodoric determined to lead his people to Italy against Odoacer. "If I fail," Theodoric said to the Emperor, "you will be relieved of an expensive and troublesome friend; if, with the divine permission, I succeed, I shall govern, in your name and to your glory, the Roman Senate and that part of the Empire delivered from slavery by my victorious arms."

The struggle between Theodoric and Odoacer lasted for several years, but Odoacer was finally shut up in Ravenna and surrendered, only to be treacherously slain a few days later by Theodoric's own hand (493).

The attitude of the East Goths toward the people already in possession of the land and toward the Roman culture is significant. Theodoric put the name of the Eastern Emperor on

[1] For a more detailed account of this period see the writer's *The New History*, chap. vi, "The Fall of Rome."

the coins that he issued and did everything in his power to insure the Emperor's approval of the new German kingdom. Nevertheless, although he desired that the Emperor should sanction his usurpation, Theodoric had no idea of being really subordinate to Constantinople.

The invaders appropriated one third of the land for themselves, but this was done with discretion, and no disorder appears to have resulted. Theodoric maintained the Roman laws and institutions, which he greatly admired. The old offices and titles were retained, and Goth and Roman lived under the same Roman law. Order was restored and learning encouraged. In Ravenna, which Theodoric chose for his capital, beautiful buildings that date from his reign still exist.

On his death, in 526, Theodoric left behind him an admirably organized state, but it had one conspicuous weakness. The Goths, although Christians, were unorthodox according to the standard of the Italian Christians. They had been converted by Eastern missionaries, who had taught them the Arian heresy earlier prevalent at Constantinople. This doctrine, which derived its name from Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria (d. 336), had been condemned by the Council of Nicæa. The followers of Arius did not have the same conception of Christ's nature and of the relations of the three members of the Trinity as that sanctioned at Rome. The East Goths were therefore not only barbarians—which might have been forgiven them—but were guilty, in the eyes of the orthodox Italians, of the unpardonable offense of heresy. Theodoric himself was exceptionally tolerant for his times. His conviction that "we cannot command in matters of religion because no one can be compelled to believe against his will" showed a spirit alien to the traditions of the Christianized Roman Empire and the Roman Church, which represented the orthodox belief.

While Theodoric had been establishing his kingdom in Italy with such enlightenment and moderation, what is now France was coming under the control of the most powerful of the

German barbarian peoples, the Franks, who were to play a more important rôle in the formation of modern Europe than any of the other German races. Of the Franks more will be said later. Besides the kingdoms of the East Goths and of the Franks, the West Goths had their kingdom in Spain, the Burgundians had established themselves on the Rhone, and the Vandals had settled in Africa. Alliances were concluded between the reigning houses of these nations; and for the first time in the history of Europe we see something like a family of nations, living each within its own boundaries and dealing with one another as independent powers. It seemed for a few years as if the process of assimilation between Germans and Romans were going to make rapid progress without involving any considerable period of disorder and retrogression.

But no such good fortune was in store for Europe, which was now only at the beginning of the turmoil from which it was to emerge almost completely barbarized.

The year after Theodoric's death one of the greatest of the emperors of the East, Justinian (527–565), came to the throne at Constantinople. He undertook to regain for the Empire the provinces in Africa and Italy that had been occupied by the Vandals and East Goths. His general, Belisarius, overthrew the Vandal kingdom in northern Africa in 534, but it was a more difficult task to destroy the Gothic rule in Italy. However, in spite of a brave defense, the Goths were so completely defeated in 553 that they agreed to leave Italy, with all their movable possessions. What became of the remnants of the race we do not know. They had been too few to maintain their control over the mass of the Italians, who were ready, with a religious zeal which cost them dear, to open their gates to the hostile armies of Justinian.

The destruction of the East Gothic kingdom was a disaster for Italy. Immediately after the death of Justinian the country was overrun anew, by the Lombards, the last of the great German peoples to establish themselves within the bounds of

MAP OF EUROPE IN THE TIME OF THEODORIC

It will be noticed that Theodoric's kingdom of the East Goths included a considerable part of what came in modern times to be called Austria, and that the West Gothic kingdom extended into southern France. The Vandals held northern Africa and the adjacent islands. The Burgundians lay between the East Goths and the Franks. The Lombards, who were later to move down into Italy, were in Theodoric's time east of the Bavarians, after whom modern Bavaria is named. Some of the Saxons invaded England; but many remained in Germany, as indicated on the map. The Eastern Empire, which was all that remained of the Roman Empire, included the Balkan Peninsula, Asia Minor, and the eastern portion of the Mediterranean. The Britons in Wales, the Picts in Scotland, and the Scots in Ireland were Celts; consequently modern Welsh, Gaelic, and Irish are closely related and belong to the Celtic group of languages

the former Empire. They were a savage race, a considerable part of which was still pagan, and the Arian Christians among them appear to have been as hostile to the Roman Church as their unconverted fellows. The newcomers first occupied the region north of the Po, which has ever since been called Lombardy after them, and then extended their conquests southward. Instead of settling themselves with the moderation and wise statesmanship of the East Goths, the Lombards chose to move about the peninsula pillaging and massacring. Such of the inhabitants as could, fled to the islands off the coast. The Lombards were unable, however, to conquer all of Italy. Rome, Ravenna, and southern Italy continued to be held by the Greek empire. As time went on, the Lombards lost their wildness, accepted the orthodox form of Christianity, and gradually assimilated the civilization of the people among whom they lived. Their kingdom lasted over two hundred years, until it was overthrown by Charlemagne (see page 107).

The Kingdoms of the Franks

None of the German peoples of whom we have so far spoken, except the Franks, ever succeeded in establishing a permanent kingdom. Their states were overthrown in turn by some other German nation, by the Eastern Empire, or, in the case of the West Gothic kingdom in Spain, by the Mohammedans (see page 93). The Franks, to whom we must now turn, were destined not only to conquer most of the other German tribes but even to extend their boundaries into districts inhabited by the Slavs.

When the Franks are first heard of in history, they were settled along the lower Rhine, from Cologne to the North Sea. Their method of getting a foothold in the Empire was essentially different from that which the Goths, the Lombards, and the Vandals had adopted. Instead of severing their connection with Germany and becoming an island in the sea of the Empire,

they conquered by degrees the territory about them. However far they might extend their control, they remained in constant touch with the barbarian reserves behind them. In this way they retained the warlike vigor that was lost by the races who were completely surrounded by the peaceful influences of Roman civilization.

In the early part of the fifth century the Franks had occupied the district which constitutes today the kingdom of Belgium, as well as the regions east of it. In 486, a little before Theodoric founded his Italian kingdom, they went forth under their great king, Clovis (a name that later grew into Louis), and defeated the Roman general who opposed them. They extended their control over Gaul as far south as the Loire, which at that time formed the northern boundary of the kingdom of the West Goths. Clovis then enlarged his empire on the east by the conquest of the Alemanni, a German people living in the region of the Black Forest.

The battle in which the Alemanni were defeated (496) is in one respect important above all the other battles of Clovis. Although still a pagan himself, his wife was an orthodox Christian convert. In the midst of the conflict, as he saw his line giving way, he called upon Jesus Christ and pledged himself to be baptized in his name if he would help the Franks to victory over their enemies. He kept his word and was baptized, together with three thousand of his warriors. His conversion had the most momentous consequences for Europe. All the other German peoples within the Empire were Christians, but they were all Arian heretics, and to the orthodox Christians about them they seemed worse than heathen. This religious difference had prevented the Germans and Romans from intermarrying and had retarded their fusion in other ways. But with the conversion of Clovis there was at least one barbarian leader with whom the bishop of Rome could negotiate as with a faithful son of the Church. It is from the orthodox Gregory of Tours that most of our knowledge of Clovis and his succes-

sors is derived. In Gregory's famous *History of the Franks* (written between 576 and 591) the cruel and unscrupulous king appears as God's chosen instrument for the extension of the Catholic faith.[1] Certainly Clovis quickly learned to combine his own interests with those of the Church, and the alliance between the Pope and the Frankish kings was destined to have a great influence upon the history of western Europe.

To the south of Clovis's new acquisitions in Gaul lay the kingdom of the Arian West Goths; to the southeast that of another heretical German people, the Burgundians. The historian of this period, Gregory of Tours, reports him as saying: "I cannot bear that these Arians should be in possession of a part of Gaul. Let us advance upon them with the aid of God; after we have conquered them let us bring their realms into our power." So zealous was the newly converted king that he speedily extended his power to the Pyrenees, and forced the West Goths to confine themselves to the Spanish portion of their realm. The Burgundians became a tributary nation and soon fell completely under the rule of the Franks. Then Clovis, by a series of murders, brought under his scepter portions of the Frankish nation itself which had previously been independent of him.

When Clovis died in 511 at Paris, which he had made his residence, his four sons divided his possessions among them. Wars between rival brothers, interspersed with the most horrible murders, fill the annals of the Frankish kingdom for over a hundred years after the death of Clovis. Yet the nation continued to develop in spite of the unscrupulous deeds of its rulers. It had no enemies strong enough to assail it, and a certain unity was preserved in spite of the ever-shifting distribution of territory among the members of the royal house.

[1] See *Readings*, chap. iii, for passages from Gregory of Tours. Portions of this famous history have been translated, with useful comments, by Ernest Brehaut, *History of the Franks, by Gregory Bishop of Tours*, in the series, Records of Civilization, published by the Columbia University Press.

The Frankish kings succeeded in extending their power over pretty nearly all the territory that is included today in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, as well as over a goodly portion of western Germany. By 555, when Bavaria had become tributary to the Frankish rulers, their dominions extended from the Bay of Biscay to a point east of Salzburg. Considerable districts that the Romans had never succeeded in conquering had been brought into the developing civilization of western Europe.

THE DOMINIONS OF THE FRANKS UNDER THE MEROVINGIANS

This map shows how the Frankish kingdom grew up. In 486, while still a young man, Clovis defeated the Roman general Syagrius, near Soissons, and so added the region around Paris to his possessions. He added Alemannia, on the east, in 496. In 507 he made Paris his capital and conquered Aquitania, previously held by the West Goths. He began also the conquest of the Burgundians. His successors in the next half-century completed the conquest of Burgundy and added Provincia, Bavaria, and Gascony. There were many divisions of the Frankish realms; and the eastern and western portions, called Austrasia and Neustria, were often ruled by different branches of the *Merovingians*, as Clovis's family was called from his ancestor Meroveus

As a result of the divisions of the Frankish lands, fifty years after the death of Clovis three Frankish kingdoms appear on the map. Neustria, the western kingdom, with its center at Paris or Soissons, was inhabited mainly by the older Romanized people, among whom the Franks had settled. To the east was Austrasia, with Metz and Aix-la-Chapelle as its chief cities. This region was completely German in its population. In these two there was the prophecy of the future France and Germany. Lastly, there was the old Burgundian realm. Of the Merovingian kings (as the line descended from Clovis was called) the last to rule as well as reign was Dagobert (d. 638), who united the whole Frankish territory once more under his scepter.

A new danger, however, threatened the unity of the Frankish kingdom; namely, the aspirations of the powerful nobles. In the earliest accounts which we have of the Germans there appear to have been certain families who enjoyed a recognized preëminence over their companions. In the course of the various conquests there was a chance for the skillful leader to raise himself in the favor of the king. It was only natural that those upon whom the king relied to control distant parts of the realm should become dangerously ambitious and independent.

Among the positions held by the nobility none were reputed more honorable than those near the king's person. Of these offices the most influential was that of the Major Domus, or Mayor of the Palace, who was a species of prime minister. After Dagobert's death these mayors practically ruled in the place of the Merovingian monarchs, who became mere "do-nothing kings"—*rois fainéants*, as the French call them. The Austrasian Mayor of the Palace, Pippin of Heristal, the great-grandfather of Charlemagne, succeeded in getting, in addition to Austrasia, both Neustria and Burgundy under his control. In this way he laid the foundation of his family's renown. Upon his death, in 714, his task of consolidating and defending the vast territories of the Franks devolved upon his more distinguished son, Charles Martel (the Hammer).

How the Newcomers made Terms with the Old Order

As one looks back over the German invasions it is natural to ask upon what terms the newcomers lived among the older inhabitants of the Empire, how far they adopted the customs of those among whom they settled, and how far they clung to their old habits? These questions cannot be answered very satisfactorily; so little is known of the confused period of which we have been speaking that it is impossible to follow closely the amalgamation of the two races.

Yet a few things are tolerably clear. In the first place, we must be on our guard against exaggerating the numbers in the various bodies of invaders. The writers of the time indicate that the West Goths, when they were first admitted to the Empire before the battle of Adrianople, amounted to four or five hundred thousand persons, including men, women, and children. This is the largest band reported, and it must have been greatly reduced before the West Goths, after long wanderings and many battles, finally settled in Spain and southern Gaul. The Burgundians, when they appear for the first time on the banks of the Rhine, are reported to have had eighty thousand warriors among them. When Clovis and his army were baptized, the chronicler speaks of "over three thousand" soldiers who became Christians upon that occasion. This would seem to indicate that the Frankish king had no larger force at this time.

Undoubtedly our information is very meager and unreliable. But the readiness with which the Germans appear to have adopted the language and customs of the Romans would tend to prove that the invaders formed but a small minority of the population. Since hundreds of thousands of barbarians had been assimilated during the previous five centuries, the great invasions of the fifth century can hardly have made an abrupt change in the character of the population.

The barbarians within the old Empire were soon speaking the same conversational Latin which was everywhere used by

the Romans about them.[1] This was much simpler than the elaborate and complicated language used in books, which we find so much difficulty in learning nowadays. The speech of the common people was gradually diverging more and more, in the various countries of southern Europe, from the written Latin, and finally grew into French, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese. But the barbarians did not produce this change, for it had begun before they came and would have gone on without them. They did no more than contribute a few convenient words to the new languages.

The Germans appear to have had no dislike for the Romans, nor the Romans for them, except as long as the Germans remained Arian Christians. Where there was no religious barrier, the two races intermarried freely from the first. The Frankish kings did not hesitate to appoint Romans to important positions in the government and in the army, just as the Romans had long been in the habit of employing the barbarians. In only one respect were the two races distinguished for a time: each had its particular law.

The West Goths were probably the first to write down their ancient laws, using the Latin language. Their example was followed by the Franks, the Burgundians, and later by the Lombards and other peoples. These codes make up the "Laws of the Barbarians," which form our most important source of knowledge of the habits and ideas of the Germans at the time of the invasions. For several centuries following the conquest the members of the various German tribes appear to have been judged by the laws of the particular people to which they belonged. The older inhabitants of the Empire, on the contrary, continued to have their lawsuits decided according to the

[1] The northern Franks, who did not penetrate far into the Empire, and the Germans who remained in Germany proper and in Scandinavia, had, of course, no reason for giving up their native tongues; the Angles and Saxons in Britain also adhered to theirs. These Germanic languages in time became Dutch, English, German, Danish, Swedish, etc. Of this matter something will be said later (see Chapter XIII, first section).

Roman law. This survived all through the Middle Ages in southern Europe, where the Germans were few. Elsewhere the Germans' more primitive ideas of law prevailed until the thirteenth or fourteenth century. A good example of these is the picturesque medieval ordeal by which the guilt or innocence of a suspected person was determined.

The German laws did not provide for trials in the usual sense of the word. There was no attempt to gather and weigh evidence and base the decision upon it. Such a mode of procedure was far too elaborate for the simple-minded Germans. Instead of a regular trial, one of the parties to the case was designated to prove that his assertions were true by one of the following methods: (1) He might solemnly swear that he was telling the truth and get other persons of his own class—as many as the court required—to swear that they believed him to be telling the truth. This was called *compurgation.* It was believed that the divine vengeance would be visited upon those who swore falsely. (2) On the other hand, the parties to the case, or persons representing them, might meet in combat, on the supposition that Heaven would grant victory to the right. This was the so-called *wager of battle.* (3) Lastly, one or other of the parties might be required to submit to the *ordeal* in one of its various forms: He might plunge his arm into hot water, or carry a bit of hot iron for some distance; and if at the end of three days he showed no ill effects, the case was decided in his favor. He might be ordered to walk over hot plowshares; and if he was not burned, it was assumed that God had intervened by a miracle to establish the right.

The Prevailing of Ignorance

These methods of trial were but examples of the rude civilization that replaced the refined and elaborate organization of the Roman Empire. Science, art, and literature could find little footing in the shifting sands of this period of disruption.

Boethius (see page 31), whom Theodoric put to death (about the year 525) for alleged treasonable correspondence with the Emperor at Constantinople, was the last Latin writer who can be compared in any way with the classical authors as to style and mastery of the language. He was a scholar as well as a poet, and his treatises on logic, music, etc. were highly esteemed by following generations.

Theodoric's distinguished Roman counselor, Cassiodorus (d. about 575), to whose letters we owe much of our knowledge of the period, busied himself in his old age in preparing textbooks of the "liberal arts"—grammar, arithmetic, logic, geometry, rhetoric, music, and astronomy. His manuals were intended to give the uninstructed priests a sufficient preparation for the study of the Bible and of the doctrines of the Church. His absurdly inadequate and, to us, silly treatment of these seven important subjects, to which he devotes a few pages each, enables us to estimate the low plane to which learning had fallen in Italy in the sixth century. Yet his books were regarded as standard treatises in these great fields of knowledge all through the Middle Ages. So these and other textbooks upon which medieval Europe depended for its information originated at a time when Latin culture was coming to an end.

A long period of gloom now begins. Between the time of Theodoric and that of Charlemagne three hundred years elapsed, during which scarcely a writer was to be found who could compose, even in the worst of Latin, a chronicle of the events of his day.[1] Everything conspired to discourage education. The great centers of learning—Carthage, Rome, Alexandria, Milan—were partially destroyed by the barbarians or the Arabs. The libraries which had been kept in the temples of the gods were often annihilated, along with the pagan shrines, by Christian enthusiasts, who were not sorry to see the heathen literature disappear with the heathen religion. Shortly after Theodoric's death the Eastern Emperor withdrew

[1] See *Readings*, chap. iii (end), for historical writings of this period.

the support which the government had hitherto granted to public teachers and closed the schools of philosophy at Athens. The only important historian of the sixth century was the half-illiterate Gregory, bishop of Tours (d. 594), whose whole work is unimpeachable evidence of the sad state of intellectual affairs. He at least heartily appreciated his own ignorance and exclaims, in incorrect Latin, "Woe to our time, for the study of letters has perished from among us."

The account which has been given of the break-up of the Roman Empire and of the manner in which the barbarians occupied its western part makes clear the strange conditions of the early Middle Ages. The Germans, no doubt, varied a good deal in their habits and spirit. The Goths differed from the Lombards, and the Franks from the Vandals; but they all agreed in knowing nothing of the art, literature, and science which had been developed by the Greeks and adopted by the Romans. The invaders were ignorant, simple, vigorous people with no taste for anything except fighting and bodily comfort. Such was the disorder which their coming produced that the declining civilization of the Empire was pretty nearly submerged. The libraries and other buildings, and the works of art, were destroyed, and there was no one to see that they were restored. So the Western world fell back into a condition similar to that in which it had been before the Romans conquered and civilized it.

In spite of long-continued disorder, however, the loss was temporary. The barbarians did not utterly destroy what they found, but utilized the ruins of the Roman Empire in their gradual construction of a new society. They received suggestions from the Roman methods of agriculture. When they reached a point where they needed them, they used the models offered by Roman roads and buildings. In short, the great heritage of skill and invention which had been slowly accumulated in Egypt, Phœnicia, and Greece, and which formed a part of the culture which the Romans had diffused, did not wholly perish.

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF THE PAPACY; THE MONKS

The Church and Salvation

While the Franks were slowly developing the strength which Charlemagne was to employ to found the most extensive realm that had existed in Europe since the Roman Empire, another government, whose power was far greater, whose organization was far more perfect, and whose vitality was infinitely superior to that of the Roman Empire—namely, the Christian Church—was steadily extending its sway and establishing the foundations of its later supremacy.

We have already seen how marvelously the Christian communities founded by the apostles and their fellow missionaries multiplied until, by the middle of the third century, writers like Cyprian came to conceive of a "Catholic," or all-embracing, Church. We have seen how Constantine first made Christianity legal, and how his successors worked in the interest of the new religion; how carefully the Theodosian Code safeguarded the Church and the Christian clergy, and how harshly those were treated who ventured to hold another view of Christianity from that sanctioned by the government.[1]

We must now follow this most powerful and permanent of all the institutions of the later Roman Empire into the Middle Ages. We must stop a moment to consider the sources of its power, and then see how the Western, or Latin, portion of Christendom fell apart from the Eastern, or Greek, region and came to form a separate institution under the longest and

[1] See pages 32 ff.

mightiest line of rulers that the world has ever seen, the Roman bishops. We shall see how a peculiar class of Christians, the monks, developed; how they joined hands with the clergy; how the monks and the clergy met the barbarians, subdued and civilized them, and then ruled them for centuries.

The tremendous power of the Church in the Middle Ages was due, we may be sure, to the way in which it adapted itself to the ideas and needs of the time, for no institution can flourish unless it meets the wants of those who live under it.

One great source of the Church's power over men lay in the general fear of death and judgment to come, which Christianity had brought with it. The Greeks and Romans of the classical period thought of the next life, when they thought of it at all, as a very uninteresting existence compared with that on this earth. One who committed some signal crime might suffer for it after death with pains similar to those of the hell in which the Christians believed; but the great part of humanity were supposed to lead in the next world a shadowy existence, neither sad nor glad. Religion, even to the devout pagan, was mainly an affair of this life: the gods were to be propitiated with a view to present happiness and success.

Since no satisfaction could be expected in the next life, it was naturally deemed wise to make the most of this one. The possibility of pleasure ends—so the poet Horace urges—when we join the shades below, as we all must do soon. Let us therefore take advantage of every harmless pleasure and improve our brief opportunity to enjoy the good things of earth. We should, however, be reasonable and temperate, avoiding all excess, for that endangers happiness. Above all, we should not worry uselessly about the future, which is in the hands of the gods and beyond our control. Such were the convictions of the majority of thoughtful pagans.

Christianity opposed this view of life with an entirely different one. It laid persistent emphasis upon man's existence after death, which it declared infinitely more important than

his brief sojourn in the body. Under the influence of the Church this conception of life had gradually supplanted the pagan one in the Roman world, and it was taught to the barbarians. The other worldliness became so intense that thousands gave up their ordinary occupations and pleasures altogether and devoted their entire attention to preparation for the next life. They shut themselves in lonely cells; and, not satisfied with giving up most of their natural pleasures, they inflicted bodily suffering upon themselves by hunger, cold, and stripes. They trusted that in this way they might avoid some of the sins into which they were prone to fall, and that, by self-inflicted punishment in this world, they might perchance escape some of that reserved for them in the next. As most of the writers and teachers of the Middle Ages belonged to this class of what may be called professional Christians (that is, the monks), it was natural that their kind of life should have been regarded, even by those who continued to live in the world, as the ideal one for the earnest Christian.

The barbarians were taught that their fate in the next world depended largely upon the Church. Its ministers never wearied of presenting the momentous alternative which faced every man so soon as this fleeting earthly existence should be over: the alternative between eternal bliss and perpetual, unspeakable physical torment. Only those who had been duly baptized could hope to reach heaven; but baptism washed away only past sins and did not prevent constant relapse into new ones. These, unless their guilt were removed through the instrumentality of the Church, would surely drag the soul down to perdition.

We get some hint of the teachings about hell, which awaited the impenitent, from that distinguished English scholar, the Venerable Bede, who died in the year 735. He tells of one who returned from the dead and had been permitted to visit purgatory, hell, and heaven. In the darkness of hell his guide had left him alone for a time.

Having stood there a long time in much dread, not knowing what to do, which way to turn, or what end I might expect, on a sudden I heard behind me the noise of a most hideous and wretched lamentation, and at the same time a loud laughing, as of a rude multitude insulting captured enemies. When that noise, growing plainer, came up to me, I observed a gang of evil spirits dragging the howling and lamenting souls of men into the midst of the darkness, whilst they themselves laughed and rejoiced.

Among those men, as I could discern, there was one shorn like a clergyman, also a layman, and a woman. The evil spirits that dragged them went down into the midst of the burning pit; and as they went down deeper, I could no longer distinguish between the lamentation of the men and the laughing of the devils, yet I still had a confused sound in my ears.

In the meantime some of the dark spirits ascended from that flaming abyss, and, running forward, beset me on all sides, and much perplexed me with their glaring eyes and the stifling fire which proceeded from their mouths and nostrils; and they threatened to lay hold on me with burning tongs, which they had in their hands; yet they durst not touch me, though they frightened me.

The divine power of the Church was furthermore established in the eyes of the people by the miraculous works which her saints were constantly performing. They healed the sick and succored those in distress. They struck down with speedy and signal disaster those who opposed the Church or treated her holy rites with contempt. To the reader of today the frequency of the miracles recorded in medieval writings seems astonishing. The chronicles and biographies are filled with accounts of them, and no one appears to have doubted their common occurrence.[1]

The Church and the Government

The chief importance of the Church for the student of medieval history does not lie, however, in its religious functions, vital as they were, but rather in its remarkable relations to

[1] For reports of miracles see *Readings*, especially chaps. v and xxi.

the civil government. At first the Church and the imperial government were on a friendly footing of mutual respect and support. So long as the Roman Empire remained strong and active there was no chance for the clergy to free themselves from the control of the Emperor, even if they had been disposed to do so. He made such laws for the Church as he saw fit, and the clergy did not complain. The government was, indeed, indispensable to them. It undertook to root out paganism by destroying the heathen shrines and preventing heathen sacrifices, and it harshly punished those who refused to accept the teachings sanctioned by the Church.

But as the barbarians came in and the great Empire began to fall apart, there was a growing tendency among the churchmen in the West to resent the interference of rulers whom they no longer respected. They managed gradually to free themselves in large part from the control of the civil government. They then proceeded themselves to assume many of the duties of government, which the weak and disorderly states into which the Roman Empire fell were unable to perform properly. In 502 a Church council at Rome declared a former decree of Odoacer's null and void, on the ground that no layman had a right to interfere in the affairs of the Church. One of the bishops of Rome (Pope Gelasius I, d. 496) briefly stated the principle upon which the Church rested its claims, as follows: "Two powers govern the world, the priestly and the kingly. The first is indisputably the superior, for the priest is responsible to God for the conduct of even the emperors themselves." Since no one denied that the eternal interests of mankind, which devolved upon the Church, were infinitely more important than those matters of mere worldly expediency which the State regulated, it was natural for the clergy to hold that in case of conflict the Church and its officers, rather than the king, should have the last word.

It was one thing, however, for the Church to claim the right to regulate its own affairs; it was quite another for it to assume

the functions which the Roman government had previously performed and which our governments perform today, such as the maintenance of order, the management of public education, or the trial of lawsuits. It did not, however, exactly usurp the prerogatives of the civil power, but rather offered itself as a substitute for it when no efficient civil government any longer existed. For there were no states, in the modern sense of the word, in western Europe for many centuries after the final destruction of the Roman Empire. The authority of the various kings was seldom sufficient to keep their realms in order. There were always many powerful landholders scattered throughout the kingdom who did pretty much what they pleased and settled their grudges against their fellows by neighborhood wars. Fighting was the main business as well as the chief amusement of the noble class. The king was unable to maintain peace and protect the oppressed, however anxious he may have been to do so.

Under these circumstances, it naturally fell to the admirably organized Church to keep order, when it could, by threats or persuasion, and to see that sworn contracts were kept, that the wills of the dead were administered, and that marriage obligations were observed. It took the defenseless widow and orphan under its protection and dispensed charity; it promoted education at a time when few laymen, however rich and noble, pretended even to read. These conditions serve to explain why the Church was finally able greatly to extend the powers which it had enjoyed under the Roman Empire, and why it undertook functions which seem to us to belong to the State rather than to a religious organization.

Origins of the Power of the Pope

We must now turn to a consideration of the origin and growth of the supremacy of the popes, who, by raising themselves to the head of the Western Church, became in many

respects more powerful than any of the kings and princes with whom they frequently found themselves in bitter conflict.

While we cannot discover, either in the Acts of the Council of Nicæa or in the Theodosian Code, compiled more than a century later, any recognition of the supreme headship of the bishop of Rome, there is little doubt that he and his flock had almost from the very first enjoyed a leading place among the Christian communities. The Roman Church was the only one in the West which could claim the distinction of having been guided in its beginnings by the immediate followers of Christ—the "two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul."

The New Testament speaks repeatedly of Paul's presence in Rome, and Peter's is implied. There had always been, moreover, a persistent tradition, accepted throughout the Christian Church, that Peter was the first bishop of Rome. While there is no complete documentary proof for this belief, it appears to have been generally accepted at least as early as the middle of the second century. There is, certainly, no conflicting tradition, no rival claimant. The *belief itself*, whether or not it corresponds with actual events, is indubitably a fact, and a fact of the greatest historical importance. Peter enjoyed a certain preëminence among the other apostles and was singled out by Christ upon several occasions. In a passage of the New Testament which has affected political history more profoundly than the edicts of the most powerful monarch, Christ says: "And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."[1]

[1] Matt. xvi, 18–19. Two other passages in the New Testament were held to substantiate the divinely ordained headship of Peter and his successors: Luke xxii, 32, where Christ says to Peter, "Stablish thy brethren," and John xxi, 15–17, where Jesus says to him, "Feed my sheep." See *Readings*, chap. iv.

It was thus inevitable that the Roman Church should early have been looked upon as the mother church in the West. Its doctrines were considered the purest, since they had been handed down from its exalted founders. When there was a difference of opinion in regard to the truth of a particular teaching, it was natural that all should turn to the bishop of Rome for his view. Moreover, the majesty of the capital of the world helped to exalt its bishop above his fellows. It was long, however, before all the other bishops, especially those in the large cities, were ready to accept unconditionally the authority of the bishop of Rome, although they acknowledged his leading position and that of the Roman community.

We know comparatively little of the bishops of Rome during the first three centuries of the Church's existence. Even if they had been the undisputed heads of their persecuted sect, they could not have begun to exercise the political influence which they later enjoyed, until Christianity had gained the ascendancy and until the power of the Empire had become greatly weakened.

We are, however, much better instructed in regard to the Church of the fourth and early fifth centuries, because the century following the Council of Nicæa was, in the history of Church literature, what the Elizabethan era was in that of England. It was the era of the great "fathers" of Christian theology, to whom all theologians since have looked back as to the foremost interpreters of their religion. Among the chief of these were Athanasius (d. 373), to whom is attributed the formulation of the creed of the Orthodox Church as opposed to the Arians, against whom he waged unremitting war; Basil (d. 379), the promoter of the monastic life; Ambrose, bishop of Milan (d. 397); Jerome (d. 420), who prepared a new Latin version of the Scriptures, which became the standard (Vulgate) edition; and, above all, Augustine (354–430), whose voluminous writings have exercised an unrivaled influence upon the minds of Christian thinkers since his day.

Since the Church Fathers were chiefly interested in matters of doctrine, they say little of the organization of the Church, and it is not clear from their writings that the bishop of Rome was accorded as yet the supreme and dominating position which the popes later enjoyed. Nevertheless Augustine calls a contemporaneous bishop of Rome the "head of the Western Church," and almost immediately after his death one ascended the episcopal chair at Rome whose ambition, energy, and personal bravery were a promise of those qualities which were to render his successors the kings of kings.

With the accession of Leo the Great (440–461) the history of the papacy may, in one sense, be said to have begun. At his instance Valentinian III, the Emperor in the West, issued a decree in 445 declaring the power of the bishop of Rome supreme by reason of Peter's merits and apostolic headship and by reason of the majesty of the city of Rome. He commanded that the bishops throughout the West should receive as law whatever the bishop of Rome sanctioned, and that any bishop refusing to answer a summons to Rome should be forced to obey by the imperial governor. But a council at Chalcedon, six years later, raised new Rome on the Bosporus (Constantinople) to an ecclesiastical equality with old Rome on the Tiber. The bishops of both cities were to have a co-superiority over all the other prelates. This decree was, however, never accepted in the Western, or Latin, Church, which was gradually separating from the Eastern, or Greek, Church, whose natural head was Constantinople. The name "pope" (from the Latin *papa*, "father") originally and quite naturally applied to all bishops, and even to priests. It began to be especially applied to the bishops of Rome, perhaps as early as the sixth century, but was apparently not confined to them until two or three hundred years later. Gregory VII (d. 1085) was the first to declare explicitly that the title should be used only for the bishop of Rome. We shall, however, hereafter refer to the Roman bishop as Pope, although it must not be

forgotten that his headship of the Western Church did not for some centuries imply the absolute power that he came later to exercise over all the other bishops of western Europe.

Although the powers to which Leo laid claim were not as yet even clearly stated, and there were times of adversity to come when for years they appeared an empty boast, still his emphatic assertion of the supremacy of the Roman bishop was a great step toward bringing the Western Church under a single head.

It was not long after the death of Leo the Great that Odoacer put an end to the Western line of emperors. Then Theodoric and his East Goths settled in Italy, only to be followed by still less desirable intruders, the Lombards. During this tumultuous period the people of Rome, and even of all Italy, came to regard the Pope as their natural leader. The Emperor was far away, and his officers, who managed to hold a portion of central Italy around Rome and Ravenna, were glad to accept the aid and counsel of the Pope. In Rome the Pope watched over the elections of the city officials and directed in what manner the public money should be spent. He had to manage and defend the great tracts of land in different parts of Italy which from time to time had been given to the bishopric of Rome. He negotiated with the Germans and even directed the generals sent against them.

Gregory the Great

The pontificate of Gregory the Great, one of the half-dozen most distinguished heads that the Church has ever had, shows how great a part the papacy could play. Gregory, who was the son of a rich Roman senator, was appointed by the Emperor to the honorable office of prefect. He began to fear, however, that his proud position and fine clothes were making him vain and worldly. His pious mother and his study of the writings of Augustine, Jerome, and Ambrose led him, upon the death of his father, to spend all his handsome fortune in founding seven monasteries. One of these he established in his own house, and

he subjected himself to such severe discipline and deprivations that his health never entirely recovered from them. He might, in his enthusiasm for monasticism, have brought himself to an early grave if the Pope had not commanded him to undertake a difficult mission to Constantinople; there he had his first opportunity to show his great ability in conducting delicate negotiations.

When Gregory was chosen Pope (in 590) and most reluctantly left his monastery, ancient Rome, the capital of the Empire, was already transforming itself into medieval Rome, the capital of Christendom. The temples of the gods had furnished materials for the many Christian churches. The tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul were soon to become the center of religious attraction and the goal of pilgrimages from every part of western Europe. Just as Gregory assumed office a great plague was raging in the city. In true medieval fashion he arranged a solemn procession in order to obtain from Heaven a cessation of the pest. Then the archangel Michael was seen over the tomb of Hadrian[1] sheathing his fiery sword as a sign that the wrath of the Lord had been turned away. With Gregory we leave behind us the history of the Rome of Cæsar and Trajan and enter upon that of Popes Innocent III and Leo X.

Gregory enjoyed during the Middle Ages an unrivaled reputation as a writer. He is reckoned with Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome as one of the four great Latin "fathers" of the Church. His works show, however, how much less cultivated his period was than that of his predecessors. His most popular book was his *Dialogues*, a collection of accounts of miracles and popular legends. It is hard for us, in the modern, sophisticated period in which we live, to believe that it could have been composed by the greatest man of the time and that it was designed for educated adults.

[1] The great circular tomb was later converted into the chief fortress of the popes and called, from the event just mentioned, the Castle of the Angel (Sant'Angelo).

In his famous *Moralia*, which took the form of a commentary on the Book of Job, he gives excellent examples of the *allegorical* interpretation of the Bible. This had long been common among both Jewish and Christian scholars, and prevailed for centuries after Gregory; it is, indeed, by no means obsolete yet. Under the *literal* sense all sorts of deeper meanings could be uncovered which gave the most prosaic statements a deep moral significance. Gregory thus explains the value of this form of exegesis:

For as the Word of God, by the mysteries which it contains, exercises the understanding of the wise, so it often nourishes the simple-minded by what presents itself on the outside. It presenteth in open day that wherewith the little ones may be fed; it keepeth in secret that whereby men of a loftier range may be held in wondering suspense. It is, as it were, a kind of river, if I may so liken it, which is both shallow and deep, wherein both the lamb may find a footing and the elephant float at large.

When, to give an instance, Gregory comes upon the statement that Job possessed, among other property, "five hundred yoke of oxen and five hundred she asses," he shows how much value these statistical data may have for the religious life.

We have said above that by the number fifty, which is completed by seven weeks and the addition of an unit, rest is signified, and by the number ten the sum of perfection is set forth. Now, forasmuch as the perfection of rest is promised to the faithful, by multiplying fifty ten times, we arrive at five hundred. But in Sacred Writ the title of oxen sometimes represents the dullness of the foolish sort, and sometimes the life of well-doers. For because the stupidity of the fool is represented by the title of an ox, Solomon says rightly, "He goeth after her straightway, as an ox goeth to the slaughter." Again, that the life of every laborer is set forth by the title of oxen, the precepts of the Law are a testimony, which enjoined through Moses, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." And this again is declared in plain words, "The labourer is worthy of his hire."

By the title of asses, too, we have represented sometimes the unrestrained indulgence of the wanton, sometimes the simple-mindedness of the Gentiles; for the inertness of fools is imaged by the designation of asses, as where it is said through Moses, "Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together." As though he said, "Do not associate fools and wise men together in preaching, lest by means of him who has no power to accomplish the work you hinder him who has abundant power." The unrestrained indulgence of the wanton is likewise set forth by the appellation of asses, as the prophet testifies when he says, "whose flesh is as the flesh of asses."

Gregory warns his readers that they need not be surprised to find mistakes in grammar and violations of the rules of rhetoric, for in dealing with so lofty a theme as the Holy Bible one should not stop to make sure whether his cases and tenses are right. But Gregory really wrote a very good simple Latin, and meant only that he did not propose to adhere to the highly artificial rules of writing which his time had inherited from the later Roman Empire.

Gregory's letters show clearly what the papacy was coming to mean for Europe when in the hands of a really great man. While he assumed the humble title of "Servant of the servants of God," which the popes still use, Gregory was a statesman whose influence extended far and wide. It devolved upon him to govern the city of Rome (as it did upon his successors down to the year 1870), for the Eastern Emperor's control had become merely nominal. He had also to keep the Lombards out of central Italy, which they failed to conquer largely on account of the valiant defense of the popes. These duties were functions of the civil power, and in assuming them Gregory may be said to have founded the temporal power of the popes.

Beyond the borders of Italy, Gregory was in constant communication with the Emperor, and with the rulers of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy. Everywhere he used his influence to have good clergymen chosen as bishops, and everywhere he watched over the interests of the monasteries. But his chief

importance in the history of the papacy is attributable to the missionary enterprises which he undertook, through which the great countries which were one day to be called England, France, and Germany were brought under the sway of the Roman Church and its head, the Pope.

Gregory was, as we have seen, an enthusiastic monk, and he naturally relied chiefly upon the monks in converting the heathen. Consequently, before considering his missionary achievements, we must glance at the origin and character of the monks, who are so conspicuous throughout the Middle Ages.

Monasticism

Among the striking peculiarities of the Middle Ages there is none more interesting or better worth study than the life and ideas of those who felt called upon to escape from the world and its usual interests, responsibilities, and temptations by retiring to a monastery, where they might devote their whole time to repenting their sins and to fulfilling God's commands as they understood them. It fell out that the monasteries attracted through the ages a certain number of able men who distinguished themselves in various ways other than the purely religious; so that the monks, and later orders such as the begging friars and the Jesuits, exercised a great influence on the thought, literature, and art of western Europe. The proud annals of the Benedictines, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and, finally, the Jesuits, include many distinguished names. Gregory the Great, Boniface, the Venerable Bede, Abelard, St. Bernard, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, Fra Angelico, Savonarola, Luther, Erasmus, Francis Xavier, La Salle, and others whom we shall have occasion to mention, all belonged to religious orders and spent at least a part of their life in a monastery. Moreover, the views of the monks in regard to the virtue of obedience, the relations of men and women to one another, and certain other matters, may still be traced in our attitude toward these subjects.

The idea of escaping the distractions of life and of giving up worldly comforts and ambitions by retiring to some solitary place to meditate on higher things and bring the body into subjection is older than Christianity. Religious and philosophic recluses were common in China and especially in India before the days of the apostles. The early Christians were on their guard against the temptations of ordinary life. St. Paul seems at times to have felt that marriage was a disadvantage for an ardent Christian, since the married man must be careful of the things of the world, how he may please his wife, rather than how he may please the Lord.

It was not until the third century, however, that certain fervent Egyptian Christians definitely proclaimed and established the monastic life, which spread later into western Europe. St. Anthony, the first of these to gain a great reputation, did not found a monastery, although many disciples gathered around him. One Pachomius, somewhat younger than Anthony, who had formerly belonged to an association dedicated to the worship of the ancient Egyptian deity Serapis, was converted to Christianity, founded a monastery on an island in the Nile, and drew up the first rule for its governance.

Pachomius died in 345. In the following generation monks greatly increased in numbers, not only in Egypt but in Western Asia. Some of them achieved great fame by maltreating their bodies,—especially St. Simeon, who spent many years, in sun and rain, on the top of a high pillar and finally died there. A distinguished bishop, reckoned among the Church Fathers, St. Basil of Cappadocia, wrote out rules for the monastic life in Greek, and leaders in Western Christendom, such as Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, began to forward the new religious life. Ambrose was the head of a monastery near Milan; Jerome became a hermit himself and wrote enthusiastic letters to both men and women urging them to give up all ideas of domestic life and to find peace in the wilderness. To one young man, who appears to have had some consideration for those who loved

him and were dependent upon him, he says, "let the dead bury their dead." It is a sin not to prefer the perfect life, and that cannot be found except in the desert. "Do you think of food? Faith fears not hunger. Do you dread the naked ground when your limbs are shrunken with fasting? The Lord lies with you. Does the infinite vastness of the desert frighten you? In your mind you will be walking in Paradise. Does your skin grow rough for want of bathing? Who is once washed in Christ needs not wash again." As for Augustine, he bitterly repented all the sins he had committed when a gay young teacher of rhetoric in Carthage and Rome; and in his famous *City of God* he elaborately develops the monks' creed, that the passionate love of men and women for one another is the cardinal sin—nothing less than the sign and seal of man's fall. No such thing as fleshly love could, he believed, have existed in Paradise.

About the time of Augustine's death Cassian, of whom we know but little, wrote the first well-known Latin books on monasticism, its rules and dangers, and gave many anecdotes of the Egyptian monks and their sayings. He describes in detail the various sins against which monks must be on their guard, including spiritual pride and arrogance, on the one hand, and, on the other, sloth, discouragement, and the terrible boredom against which some of them had to make head. Inevitably, as the monastic life became common, many entered it who were ill qualified to stand the strain. They could not control their thoughts, appetites, or temper, and would become irritable and moody or secretly indulge their desires.

It seems strange that such great numbers were willing to give up all that usually attracts men in life. The final vows, once taken, were irrevocable. The monk must retain no property; he must sever all family ties, repudiate all former responsibilities, give up his own will, and become absolutely obedient to the commands of the abbot, or head, of the monastery. According to the law he was regarded as *dead*, and in any matter

of inheritance he was passed over as if he were deceased. Moreover, as time went on, the government engaged to return him to the monastery, like a fugitive slave, if he tried to run away.

Nevertheless the monastic life attracted a great many kinds of temperaments. There were the really spiritual-minded, whose sins weighed heavily upon them and who were eager to work out their salvation in fear and trembling, reciting prayers, singing the prescribed chants, disciplining their bodies by fasts and discomforts, and seeking not only to refrain from evil deeds but to exclude all low and impure thoughts from their minds. These were the ascetics, who felt that the body was the enemy of the soul, to be brought into subjection by rigorous austerities and deprivations. As the clamors of the body for ease and delights were stilled, the soul expanded to welcome the divine radiance which comes with communion with God, unimpeded by earthly longings. The absolute renunciation of their wills and the prompt and unconditional obedience which must be yielded to the abbot were but ways of conforming to God's will. Thus argued the spiritual-minded.

But many others were drawn into the monasteries. The world became a less attractive place as the successive invasions of the barbarians brought ever-increasing disorder. The monastery was the natural refuge not only of the spiritual-minded, but of those of a studious, contemplative, or merely timid disposition who disliked the life of a soldier and were disinclined to face the dangers and uncertainties of the times. The monastic life was safe and peaceful, as well as holy. Even the rude and unscrupulous warriors hesitated to destroy the property or disturb the life of those who were believed to enjoy Heaven's special favor. The monastery furnished, too, a refuge for the disconsolate, an asylum for the disgraced, and food and shelter for the indolent, who would otherwise have had to earn their living. Thus there were many motives which

helped to fill the monasteries. Kings and nobles, for the good of their souls, readily gave land upon which to found colonies of monks, and there were plenty of remote spots in the mountains and forests to tempt the recluse.

Life in a Monastery

In the sixth century monasteries multiplied so rapidly in western Europe that it became necessary to establish definite rules for the numerous communities which proposed to desert the ordinary ways of the world and lead a peculiar life apart. The monastic regulations which had been drawn up in the East did not answer the purpose, for the climate of the West and the temperament of the Latin peoples differed too much from those of the Orient. Accordingly St. Benedict drew up, about the year 526, a sort of constitution for the monastery of Monte Cassino, in southern Italy, of which he was the head. This was so sagacious, and so well met the needs of the monastic life, that it was rapidly adopted by other monasteries and became the model for the constitution of various new orders that developed from time to time during the Middle Ages.

Benedict, it should be noted, did not introduce monasticism in the West, as is sometimes supposed, nor did he even found an *order* (in the proper sense of the word) under a single head, like the later Franciscans and Dominicans. Nevertheless the monks who lived under his rule are ordinarily spoken of as belonging to the Benedictine order.

The Rule of St. Benedict is as important as any constitution that was ever drawn up for a state. It is for the most part natural and wholesome. It provided that, since not everyone was fitted for the ascetic life, the candidate for admission to the monastery should pass through a period of probation, called the *novitiate,* before he was permitted to take the solemn and irrevocable vow. The brethren were to elect their head, the *abbot,* whom they must obey unconditionally in all that was

not sinful. Along with prayer and meditation, the monks were to work at manual occupations and cultivate the soil. They were also to read and teach. Those who were incapacitated for outdoor work were assigned lighter tasks, such as copying books. The monk was not permitted to own anything in his own right: he pledged himself to perpetual and absolute poverty, and everything he used was the property of the convent. Along with the vows of obedience and poverty, he took also that of chastity, which bound him never to marry. For not only was the single life considered more holy than the married, but the monastic organization would, of course, have been impossible unless the monks had remained single. Aside from these restrictions, the monks were commanded to live rational and natural lives and not to abuse their bodies or sacrifice their physical vigor by undue fasting in the supposed interest of their souls. These sensible provisions were directed against the excesses of asceticism, of which there had been many instances in the East.

Monasteries—abbeys, as they are called in England—were arranged to meet the needs of those who lived in them. They were modeled on the Roman country house and built around a court. On all four sides of this court was a covered walk called the cloister, which enabled the inmates to reach all the buildings without exposing themselves to the inclemencies of the weather. Many examples of handsome monasteries still remain in France, Spain, and Italy, and in England there are noble ruins of the abbeys destroyed in Henry VIII's time.

On the north side of the cloister stood the church, facing west. This might be a truly splendid structure when the monastery was rich, as in the case of Westminster Abbey, formerly a monastery church lying outside London. On the west side of the court were the storerooms; on the south was the refectory, or dining-room, with an adjacent sitting-room, which might be warmed in very cold weather. To the east was the dormitory, where the monks slept. This adjoined the church,

for the monks were required to hold services seven times a day. As vigils came well before sunrise, it was convenient to be able to reach the choir of the church by a stairway or passage leading from the cells.

The Benedictine rule advised that the monks should supply their needs so far as possible from the lands of the monastery. Hence outside the cloister and its surrounding buildings would often be found a garden, an orchard, a mill, a fishpond, and fields for raising grain. There were also a hospital for the sick and a guest house for pilgrims or poor people who applied for lodging. In the greater monasteries were more magnificent quarters, where a king or nobleman might spend a few nights. In some cases the monasteries were carefully fortified with walls and moat and drawbridge, for there was no telling what might happen in some vivid local feud or new invasion.

The influence of the Benedictine monks upon Europe is incalculable. From their numbers no less than twenty-four popes and forty-six hundred bishops and archbishops have been chosen. They boast almost sixteen thousand writers, some of distinction. Their monasteries furnished retreats where the scholar might study and write in spite of the prevailing disorder of the times. The copying of books, as has been said, was a natural occupation of the monks. Doubtless their work was often done carelessly, with little heart and less understanding. But, with the great loss of manuscripts due to the destruction of libraries and the indifference of individual book-owners, it was most essential that new copies should be made. Even poor and incorrect ones were better than none.

It was the monks who kept up the habit of study and prevented the complete loss of the Latin classics, which, without the medieval copyists, would doubtless have reached us in a far more fragmentary condition than we now have them.

The monks helped also to rescue honest manual labor, which they believed to be a great aid to salvation, from the disrepute into which slavery had brought it in earlier times. They set

the example of careful cultivation of the lands about their monasteries and in this way introduced better methods into the regions where they settled. They entertained travelers at a time when there were few or no inns and so encouraged the intercourse between the various parts of Europe.

The Benedictine monks, as well as later monastic orders, were ardent and faithful supporters of the papacy. The Roman Church, which owes much to them, appreciated the aid which they might furnish and extended to them many of the privileges enjoyed by the clergy. Indeed, the monks were reckoned as clergymen, and were called the "regular" clergy because they lived according to a *regula*, or rule, to distinguish them from the "secular" clergy, who continued to live in the world (*saeculum*) and took no monastic vows.

The Church, ever anxious to maintain as far-reaching a control over its subjects as that of the Roman Empire, whose power it inherited, could hardly expect its busy officers, with their multiform duties and constant relations with men, to represent the ideal of contemplative Christianity which was then held in higher esteem than the active life. The secular clergy performed the ceremonies of the Church, administered its business, and guarded its property; the regular clergy illustrated the necessity of personal piety and self-denial. Monasticism at its best was a monitor standing beside the Church and constantly warning it against permitting the Christian life to sink into mere mechanical and passive acceptance of its ceremonies as all-sufficient for salvation. It supplied the element of personal responsibility and spiritual ambition upon which Protestantism has laid so much stress.

The Monks as Missionaries

The first great enterprise of the monks was their missionary labors. To these the later strength of the Roman Church is in no small degree due, for the monks made of the unconverted

Germans not merely Christians but also dutiful subjects of the Pope. The first people to engage their attention were the heathen Germans who had conquered the once Christian Britain.

The British Isles were, at the opening of the Christian Era, occupied by several Celtic peoples of whose customs and religion we know almost nothing. Julius Cæsar commenced the conquest of the islands (55 B.C.), but the Romans never succeeded in establishing their power beyond the wall which they built from the Clyde to the Firth of Forth to keep out the wild Celtic tribes of the North. Even south of the wall the country was not completely Romanized, and the Celtic tongue has actually survived down to the present day in Wales.

At the opening of the fifth century the barbarian invasions forced Rome to withdraw its legions from Britain in order to protect its frontiers on the Continent. The island was thus left to be gradually conquered by the Germans, mainly Saxons and Angles, who came across the North Sea from the region south of Denmark. Almost all record of what went on during the two centuries following the departure of the Romans has disappeared. No one knows the fate of the original Celtic inhabitants of England. It is unlikely that they were, as was formerly supposed, all killed or driven to the mountain districts of Wales. More probably they were gradually lost among the dominating Germans, with whom they merged into one people. The Saxon and Angle chieftains established petty kingdoms, of which there were seven or eight at the time when Gregory the Great became Pope.

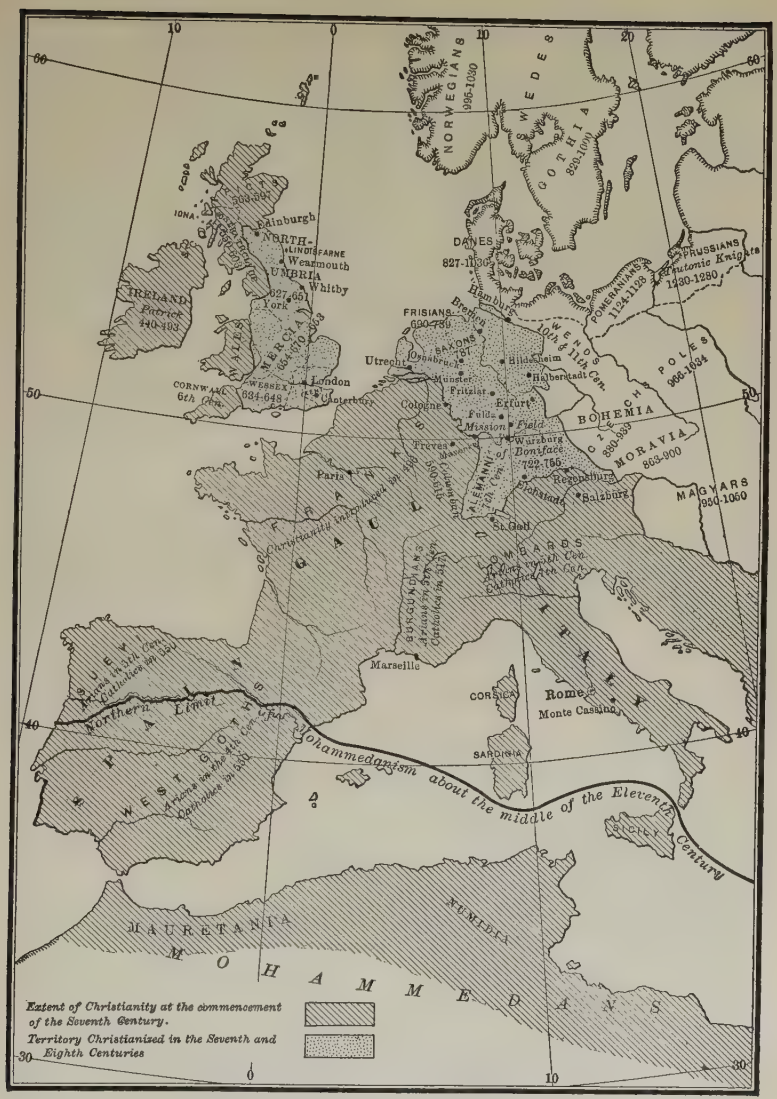
Gregory, while still a simple monk, is said to have been struck with the beauty of some Angles whom he saw in the slave market of Rome. When he learned who they were, he was grieved that such handsome beings should still belong to the kingdom of the Prince of Darkness, and had he been permitted he himself would have gone as a missionary to their people. Upon becoming Pope he sent forty monks to England from one of the monasteries that he had founded, placing a prior,

Augustine, at their head and designating him in advance as bishop of England. The heathen king of Kent, in whose territory the monks landed with fear and trembling (597), had a Christian wife, the daughter of a Frankish king. Through her influence the monks were kindly received and were assigned the ancient church of St. Martin, at Canterbury, which dates from the Roman occupation before the German invasions. Here they established a monastery; and from this center the conversion, first of Kent and then of the whole island, was gradually effected. Canterbury has always maintained its early preëminence and may still be considered the religious capital of England.[1]

Augustine and his monks were not, however, the only Christians in the British Isles. Britain had been converted to Christianity when it was a Roman province, and some of the missionaries, led by St. Patricius (d. about 469; still honored as St. Patrick), had made their way into Ireland and established a center of Christianity there. When the Germans overran Britain and reheathenized it, the Irish monks and clergy were too far off to be troubled by the barbarians. They knew little of the traditions of the Roman Church and diverged from its customs in some respects. They celebrated Easter upon a different date from that observed by the Roman Church and employed a different style of tonsure. Missionaries from this Irish church were busy converting the northern regions of Britain when the Roman monks under the prior Augustine began their work in the southern part of the island.

There was sure to be trouble between the two parties. The Irish clergy, although they professed great respect for the Pope and did not wish to be cut off from the rest of the Christian Church, were unwilling to abandon their peculiar usages and to accept those sanctioned by Rome. Nor would they recognize as their superior the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom the Pope had made the head of the British church. The Pope, on

[1] See *Readings*, chap. v, for Gregory's instructions to his missionaries.



MAP OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

his part, felt that it was all-important that these isolated Christians should become a part of the great organization of which he claimed to be the head. Neither party would make any concessions, and for two generations each went its own way, cherishing a bitter hostility toward the other.

At last the Roman Church won the victory, as it so often did in later struggles. In 664, through the influence of the king of Northumbria, who did not wish to risk being on bad terms with the Pope, the Roman Catholic form of faith was solemnly recognized in an assembly at Whitby, and the leader of the Irish missionaries sadly withdrew to Ireland.

The king of Northumbria, upon opening the Council of Whitby, said that "it was proper that those who served one God should observe one rule of conduct and not depart from one another in the ways of celebrating the holy mysteries, since they all hoped for the same kingdom of heaven." That a remote island of Europe should set up its traditions against the customs sanctioned by the rest of Christendom appeared to him highly unreasonable. This faith in the necessary unity of the Church is one of the secrets of its strength. England became a part of the ever-growing territory embraced in the Catholic Church and remained as faithful to the Pope as any other Catholic country, down to the defection of Henry VIII in the early part of the sixteenth century.

The consolidation of the rival churches in Great Britain was followed by a period of general enthusiasm for Rome and its literature and culture. Lindisfarne, Wearmouth, and other English monasteries became centers of learning unrivaled, perhaps, in the rest of Europe. A constant intercourse was maintained with Rome. Masons and glassmakers were brought across the Channel to replace the wooden churches of Britain by stone edifices in the style of the Romans. The young clergy were taught Latin and sometimes Greek. Copies of the ancient classics were brought from the Continent and reproduced. The most distinguished man of letters of the seventh

and early eighth centuries was the English monk Bæda (often called the Venerable Bede, 673–735), from whose admirable history of the Church in England most of our information about the period is derived.[1]

From England missionaries carried the enthusiasm for the Church back across the Channel. In spite of the conversion of Clovis and the wholesale baptism of his soldiers, the Franks, especially those farthest north, had been very imperfectly Christianized. A few years before Augustine landed in Kent, one of the Irish missionaries of whom we have spoken, St. Columban, landed in Gaul. He went from place to place founding monasteries and gaining the respect of the people by his rigid self-denial and by the miracles that he performed. He even penetrated among the still wholly pagan Alemanni about the Lake of Constance. When driven away by their pagan king, he turned his attention to the Lombards in northern Italy, where he died in 615. St. Gall, one of his followers, remained near the Lake of Constance and attracted about him so many disciples and companions that a great monastery grew up which was named after him and became one of the most celebrated in central Europe.

One gains a vivid feeling for the adventures of these Christian missionaries with pagan demons by reading their simple annals as recorded by their successors and admirers. When about the year 610 St. Columban and St. Gall arrived at a village called Bregenz, on the Lake of Constance, their followers made ready a shelter, and St. Columban prayed fervently to Christ in behalf of the still pagan inhabitants who worshiped three idols of gilded metal and returned thanks to them rather than to the creator of the world.

> Columban, the man of God, longing to destroy that superstition, told Gall to talk to the people, since he himself excelled in Latin but not in the language of that tribe. The people gathered at the temple for their wonted festival; but they were attracted by the sight of

[1] See *Readings*, chap. v.

the strangers, not, however, by reverence for the divine religion. When they were assembled, Gall, the elect of God, fed their hearts with honeyed words, exhorting them to turn to their Creator, and to Jesus Christ the Son of God, who opened the gate of Heaven for the human race, sunk in indifference and uncleanness.

Then before them all he broke in pieces with stones the enthroned idols and cast them into the depths of the lake. Then part of the people confessed their sins and believed, but others were angry and enraged, and departed in wrath; and Columban, the man of God, blessed the water and sanctified the place, and remained there with his followers three years. . . .

Some time after, in the silence of the night, Gall, the elect of God, was laying nets in the water, and lo! he heard the demon of the mountain top calling to his fellow who dwelt in the depths of the lake. The demon of the lake answered, "I am here"; he of the mountain returned: "Arise, come to my aid! Behold the aliens come, and thrust me from my temple. Come, come! help me to drive them from our lands." The demon of the lake answered: "One of them is upon the lake whom I could never harm. For I wished to break his nets, but see, I am vanquished and mourn. The sign of his prayer protects him always, and sleep never overcomes him."

Gall, the elect of God, heard this, and fortified himself on all sides with the sign of the cross, and said to them, "In the name of Jesus Christ, I command you, leave this place, and do not presume to harm any one here." And he hastened to return to the shore, and told his abbot what he had heard.

When Columban, the man of God, heard this, he called the brethren together in the church, and made the accustomed sign (of the cross). Before the brethren could raise their voices, the voice of an unseen being was heard, and wailing and lamentation echoed from the mountain top. So the malicious demons departed with mourning, and the prayer of the brethren arose as they sent up their supplications to God.[1]

[1] This is taken from a *Life of St. Gall* attributed to Wettinus, who died in 824. There is a *Life of St. Columban*, written by one of his companions, which, although short and simple, furnishes a better idea of the Christian spirit of the sixth century than the longest treatise by a modern writer. This life may be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 7, translated by D C. Munro.

Other Irish missionaries penetrated into the forests of Thuringia and Bavaria. The German church looks back, however, to an English missionary as its real founder.

In 718, about a hundred years after the death of St. Columban, St. Boniface, an English monk, was sent by the Pope as an apostle to the Germans. After four years spent in reconnoitering the field of his future labors, he returned to Rome and was made a missionary bishop, taking the same oath of obedience to the Pope that the bishops in the immediate vicinity of Rome were accustomed to take. Indeed, absolute subordination to the Pope was a part of Boniface's religion, and he became a powerful agent in promoting the supremacy of the Roman see.

Under the protection of the powerful Frankish Mayor of the Palace, Charles Martel, Boniface carried on his missionary work with such zeal that he succeeded in bringing under the papal control all the older Christian communities which had been established by the Irish missionaries, as well as in converting many of the more remote German tribes which still clung to their old pagan beliefs. In 732 Boniface was made archbishop of Mainz and proceeded to establish, in the newly converted region, the German bishoprics of Salzburg, Regensburg, Würzburg, Erfurt, and several others; this gives us some idea of the geographical extent of his labors.

After organizing the German church Boniface turned his attention to a general reformation of the Church in Gaul. Here the clergy were sadly demoralized, and the churches and monasteries had been despoiled of much of their property in the constant turmoil of the time. Boniface succeeded, with the help of Charles Martel, in bettering affairs; and the Church of Gaul was brought under the supremacy of the Pope. In 748 the assembled bishops of Gaul bound themselves to maintain the Catholic unity of faith and to follow strictly the precepts of the vicar of St. Peter, the Pope, so that they might be reckoned among Peter's sheep.

CHAPTER V

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MOHAMMEDANS ON EUROPEAN HISTORY

Mohammed founds a New Religion

While Gregory the Great was devoting an ardent life to fortifying and extending the power of the Pope as head of the Christian Church, he did not dream that a hitherto unknown prophet was preparing the way in distant Mecca for a new world religion which was to expand with startling rapidity and become a redoubtable rival of Christianity. Today the millions who believe that Mohammed is God's greatest prophet are at least equal in numbers to those who are faithful to the bishop of Rome as their head.

Before the appearance of Mohammed the Arabs were one of the Semitic peoples who had played no part in empire building. They wandered about their vast desert, the various tribes often at war with one another. Each tribe had its own particular gods which it worshiped on occasion. For four months in the year, however, a truce was established so that all who wished could make a pilgrimage to the *Kaaba* at Mecca. This was an inclosure containing various religious images, above all a black stone about as long as a man's hand, which was deemed especially sacred and potent (it may have been a meteorite, literally descended from heaven). So even before Mohammed preached his new gospel of one religion, the Arabs already had a sort of religious unity and regarded Mecca as a holy city.

Of Mohammed we have many stories of doubtful authenticity, but not a great deal of reliable information to satisfy

our natural curiosity about such an extraordinary person. He appears to have been born about 570, to have been poor, and to have made his living by conducting caravans back and forth across the desert. He was lucky enough to find a wealthy widow in Mecca, named Khadijah, who gave him work and later married him. She seems to have kept up his courage when few of his townsmen were inclined to pay any attention to his new religious views.

It is probable that in the formation of his religion Mohammed was greatly influenced by the Jews and Christians whom he encountered in his wanderings. From them he got some ideas of what was in the Old and New Testaments, and regarded Moses and Jesus as his chief forerunners. He became convinced that he was himself appointed to proclaim a final religion which should be carried to all peoples. When he wrapped a blanket about him and fell into a trance, he seemed to be receiving revelations from heaven which it was his duty to publish to his people, warning them of God's will and of His abhorrence of the idols which the Arabs had hitherto revered. He found it hard at first to gain converts beyond his immediate family. When he claimed that the angel Gabriel was appearing to him in dreams and unfolding to him the nature and commands of the One God, he was treated not only with contempt but with bitter suspicion; for if the new notions prevailed, the whole business of Mecca would be threatened, since the city throve on the annual pilgrimages and on the trade they brought to the local merchants.

Before long Mohammed discovered that his many enemies were plotting to kill him, and he fled to the neighboring town of Medina, where he had friends and supporters. His flight, which took place in the year 622, is called by the Arabs the *Hejira*. It was taken by his followers as the beginning of a new era on earth—the year One, as the Mohammedans reckon time. A war followed between the people of Mecca and those who had joined Mohammed in and around Medina. It was

eight years before the prophet's followers became numerous enough to enable him to march on Mecca and take it with a victorious army. Before his death, in 632, he had gained the adhesion of all the Arab chiefs; and his new religion, which he called *Islam* (submission to God), was accepted throughout the whole Arabian peninsula. So within ten years from Mohammed's flight to Medina the new religion had made great headway and gained a strength and unity which led to its rapid spread into far-distant regions.

Mohammed could probably neither read nor write very well. When he fell into his trances, he would dictate to eager scribes the messages which he claimed to be receiving from the Most High. These were written down on anything that came conveniently to hand—a palm leaf or the shoulder blade of a sheep. When there was a particular crisis, or the prophet found himself in a difficult predicament, he would receive an appropriate message from heaven to justify his decisions. These miscellaneous utterances were collected into a volume shortly after his death and form the *Koran*, or Mohammedan Bible. This contains the chief beliefs which Mohammed sought to inculcate,—the rules and laws under which all faithful followers of Islam were to live if they wished to reach heaven. The Koran has been repeatedly translated into English. Parts of it are very beautiful and poetic; others seem stupid, confused, and disgusting to a modern Western reader.

As might be expected, Mohammed and his work are subject to the most divergent judgments. To the believer he appears as holy and ineffably wise as the founder of Christianity does to those who profess his teachings. To the enemies of Mohammedanism and to many onlookers the prophet has seemed a transcendent impostor and hypocrite. The student of history should be on his guard against both these extremes. Of Mohammed's life and the obstacles he had to meet we know too little to pass judgment on his conduct in detail; we may be assured that he had to make many compromises with his ideals,

as do all reformers. He must be ranked among the very few to whom it has been given to affect the lives of hundreds of millions of human beings for hundreds of years. He had a vision of bringing all mankind into one great brotherhood through the recognition of one God, "the Lord of worlds, the merciful and compassionate." And there could hardly be a higher ideal.

The Teachings of the Koran

Like all new forms of religion Islam owed much to previous religions and was forced to make terms with the prevailing ideas and customs, for otherwise it could not possibly have been widely accepted. Mohammed recognized that there had been other great religious teachers and reformers before him, —Abraham, Moses, and Jesus among others,—but he felt that he was the last and greatest of those whom God had chosen to proclaim his will. So the foundation of the Mohammedan creed, repeated daily by millions, is "There is no god but God, and Mohammed is God's messenger." Mohammed maintained Mecca as a place of pilgrimage, as the center of Islam; he destroyed the many idols in the Kaaba, but left the sacred black stone to maintain the continuity with the long-standing habits of the Arabs. He forbade the making of any image of anything in the heavens above or the earth beneath, lest there might be a lapse into idolatry. And in this way he set one mark of distinction between the mosque, on the one hand, and the Christian church, with its figures of saints and angels, on the other.

The Mohammedan who would be saved must do five things: First, he must daily repeat the simple creed, *lá iláha illa'lláhu waMuhámmad rasúlu'lláhi*—"There is no god but God, and Mohammed is God's messenger." Secondly, he must pray five times a day—just before sunrise, just after noon, before and after sunset, and when the day has closed. The lovely prayer rugs which often find their way into our Christian world are

made to spread down on the ground or on the flat roof of an Oriental house or, mayhap, even in the desert sands; and on them the worshiper kneels, turning his face toward Mecca and bowing his head to the ground. The pattern of the rug indicates where the head is to be placed, and sometimes this is emphasized by the figure of a comb woven into the fabric. Thirdly, the Mohammedan must fast during the whole month of *Ramadan*: he may neither eat nor drink from sunrise to sunset, for this was the month in which God sent Gabriel from the seventh heaven to bring down the Koran. Fourthly, the faithful must give alms to the poor; and, finally, once in his life—if he possibly can—he must make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Tens of thousands of pilgrims flock to Mecca each year. They enter the courtyard surrounding the tabernacle-like Kaaba, which is supposed to have been originally set up by Abraham. The sacred black stone is fixed in the outside wall; and the pilgrims must circle the building seven times, kissing the stone as they pass it. All infidels are strictly prohibited from approaching Mecca, but a few have so successfully disguised themselves that they have succeeded in this hazardous adventure.

The religion of Mohammed owes much to its extreme simplicity; it does not provide for a priesthood or for any great number of ceremonies. The Mohammedan mosque, or temple, is a house of prayer and a place for the reading of the Koran; no altars or images or pictures of any kind are permitted in it. The mosques are often very beautiful, especially those in the great Mohammedan cities such as Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo, and Constantinople. They have vast courts surrounded by covered colonnades and are enriched with highly colored marbles and mosaics and delightful little windows with bright stained glass. The walls are adorned with passages from the Koran in decorative Arabic script; and on the floors are handsome rugs, so that the mosques seem less cold and formal than the austere Northern cathedrals. Around the central dome are

the minarets, from which the *muezzin* chants his call to prayer five times a day over the low roofs of the town.

Besides revering and praying to the one God, the Mohammedan is commanded to honor his parents, aid the poor, protect the orphan, keep his contracts, give full measure, and weigh with a just balance. He is not to walk proudly on the earth or be wasteful, "for the wasteful were ever the devil's brothers." What is even more striking, he is altogether to avoid strong drink.

The Koran, like the New Testament, vividly portrays a last judgment when the good and evil are to be separated forever; when the heavens shall be opened, and the mountains reduced to powder like the flying dust of the desert. Then shall all men receive their reward—those on the right hand and those on the left. Those who have refused to accept Islam and live according to its precepts shall be banished to hell, to be burned and tormented forever. "They shall not taste therein coolness or drink, save scalding water and running sores," and the scalding water they shall drink in their agony like thirsty camels. Such is the outlook for those on the left hand.

Those on the right hand, who have obeyed the Koran, especially those who died fighting for Islam, shall find themselves in a garden of delight. They shall recline in rich brocades upon soft cushions and rugs and be served by surpassingly beautiful maidens with eyes like hidden pearls. Wine may be drunk there, but a heavenly wine, so that the heads of the blessed will never ache nor their minds be confused. And—the supreme blessing of all—they shall be content with their past lives and shall hear no foolish words, and there will be no sin, remorse, or chiding but only the greeting "Peace, peace!"

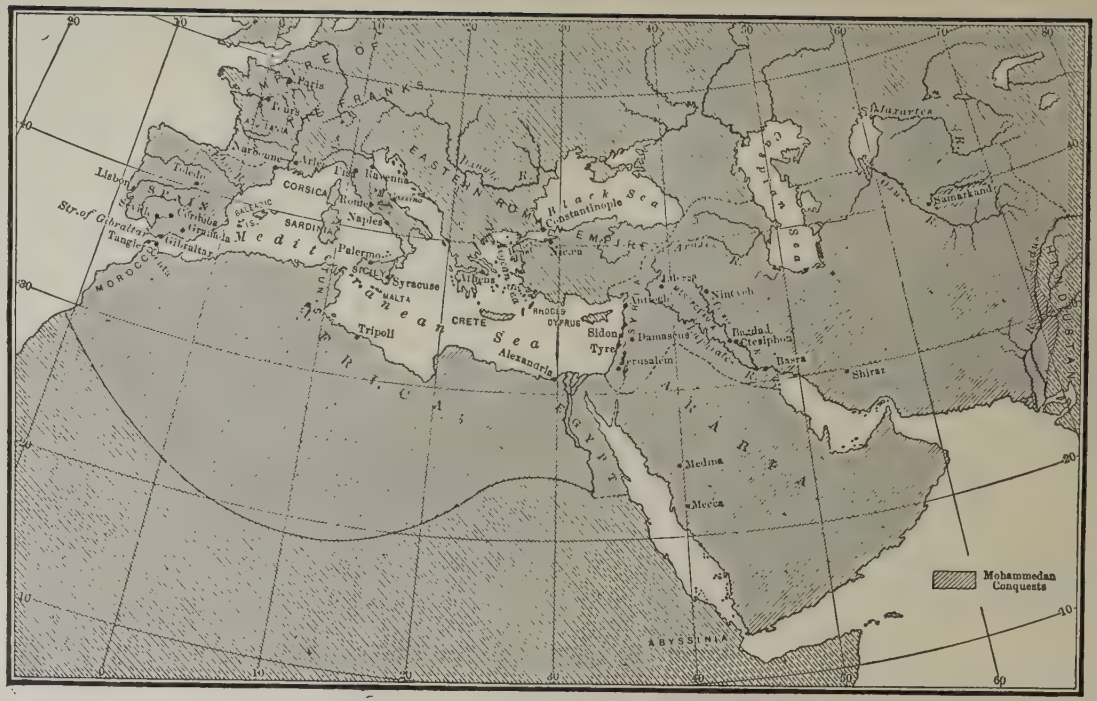
One striking thing about the Mohammedan heaven is that it seems to be a man's paradise, in which women have no part except as the fair young servants and playmates of the men. This is a reflection of the Oriental attitude toward women. It has until recently been the custom in larger households to keep

the women by themselves in a separate part of the house, called the *harem*, or women's quarters. There are plenty of allusions to these habits in the Old Testament; for example, in the Book of Esther. The Mohammedan women were not supposed to go out without the master's permission, and even then never without a veil. No man must see a respectable woman's face except her father, brother, or husband. The Koran permits a man to have as many as four wives. Mohammed, however, considerably exceeded that limit during the latter part of his life. Those who can afford it often have as many wives as they care to maintain, whereas the great mass of poorer men have but one, if any. The common people, both men and women, lead arduous lives, as they do everywhere. The life of the women in the harems of rich Mohammedans has been the subject of much speculation. It seems to have its pleasant sides, and women exercise more influence than might be expected; but they are scarcely educated, and must frequently find their existence a dreary and monotonous one, relieved only by gossip and jealous bickerings. Slaves have been very common in Mohammedan countries; but when they are once freed, if they are faithful adherents of Islam, they are considered quite as good as anyone else and may rise to the highest offices.

The Conquests of Islam

Mohammed was opposed to asceticism. When asked whether he would approve of a man's retiring as a hermit to a cavern, he is reported to have said:

> Verily I have not been sent as a representative of the Jewish nor of the Christian religion to advise quitting the delights of society; but I have been sent to proclaim the religion inclining to truth, and that which is easy, wherein is no austerity. I swear by God in whose hand is my life, that marching about morning and evening to fight for religion is better than the world and everything in it. And verily the presence of one of you in line of battle is better than all sorts of extra prayers repeated in your own house for sixty years.



THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUESTS AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT, ABOUT THE YEAR 750 (INDICATED BY OBLIQUE SHADING, UNBROKEN LINES)

The followers of Mohammed faithfully carried out their master's teachings; and within the next hundred and fifty years the little armies of the Arabs succeeded, in the name of Allah, in conquering a vast area, embracing a large portion of Western Asia and halfway encircling the Mediterranean Sea.

Mohammed had occupied the position and exercised the powers of a pope and king combined. After his death his successors took the title of *Caliph* (meaning "substitute" or "representative"), and they were regarded by most of the faithful as absolute rulers by the grace of God. Their word was law in both religious and worldly matters. The aged father of the prophet's favorite wife was the first caliph; but he soon died and was followed by Omar (634–644). Under these caliphs gifted military commanders led forth the Arab armies to the conquest of Syria, Egypt, Babylonia, and the great Persian Empire. By a marvelous series of victories all these countries were brought under the rule of the caliph in less than twenty years after the death of Mohammed. The capital of this new Mohammedan empire was transferred from Medina to Damascus.

The Mohammedans marched westward through Asia Minor and made repeated attempts to take Constantinople, but were always repulsed. It was more than eight hundred years later (1453) that the eastern capital of the Roman Empire became the center of the Mohammedan world. In that year it was captured by the Ottoman Turks, a tribe from central Asia which had wandered westward and been converted to Islam. Constantinople was the residence of the Sultan of Turkey, who, as caliph, was regarded until 1924 as the religious head of the faithful.

The Mohammedans found it a difficult task to subdue the fierce Berber tribes of northern Africa; but before the end of the century the ancient city of Carthage fell into their hands and soon the whole region to the west.

The Arab invasions were by no means confined to the western part of Asia and to northern Africa. The Arabs took pos-

session of Sicily, harassed the southern coast of Gaul, and crossed the Strait of Gibraltar into Spain. The kingdom of the West Goths was in no condition to defend itself when a small band of Arabs, reënforced by a much larger force of Berbers, those inhabitants of northwest Africa whom they had recently conquered, attacked it. Some of the Spanish towns held out for a time; but the invaders found allies among the numerous Jews, who had been shamefully treated by the Christians and were delighted to welcome anyone who would deal more mercifully with them. As for the innumerable serfs who worked on the estates of the great landholders, a change of rulers made little difference to them. In 711 the Arabs and Berbers gained a great battle, and the peninsula was gradually overrun by newcomers from across the strait.

In seven years the Mohammedans were masters of almost the whole region south of the Pyrenees. Then they began to penetrate into Gaul. For some years the duke of Aquitaine kept them in check; but in 732 they collected a large army, defeated the duke near Bordeaux, advanced to Poitiers, and then set out for Tours. Here they were met by the army of the Franks under the king's chief minister, Charles the Hammer. The Mohammedans were repulsed and never again made any serious attempt to conquer western Europe beyond the Pyrenees. They retired to Spain and there developed a civilization far in advance of that of any of the Christian kingdoms to the north of them.

Although the Mohammedans believed in a "Holy War" to convert the infidel, they have perhaps been less fiercely intolerant than the Christians, with their gospel of peace on earth. In general the Mohammedans did not slaughter the people whom they subdued, nor did they try forcibly to convert them. They merely subjugated, exploited, and oppressed them. The Mohammedan leader who took Jerusalem in 636 assured both Christians and Jews not only their lives and the free exercise of their religion but even their possessions. In contrast

with this kindly policy, one may note that when the Christian armies captured Jerusalem in 1099, during the First Crusade, they boasted of having massacred all the Mohammedans and burned all the Jews alive, thus exterminating no less than seventy thousand enemies of their religion in a week. If one takes account of the cruel wars and massacres which have occurred under Christian auspices, he will hesitate to condemn the followers of Islam as peculiarly fanatical, since their record can scarcely be more terrible than that of the Christians. This is a matter of great significance for us at the present day, since important Mohammedan states, like Turkey, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Arabia, and Egypt, are now being reorganized and modernized and are trying to come to terms with the rest of the family of nations. In India alone, now under British rule, there are almost seventy million Mohammedans —far more than the whole population of Great Britain. And in Africa Mohammedanism is rapidly spreading among the negro population. Adjustments cannot be made on the basis of ancient prejudice and animosities. We believe in religious freedom in the United States, and our study of history should serve to reënforce our confidence in religious toleration or, at least, our suspicion of religious fanaticism.

Mohammedan Civilization

Somewhat over a hundred years after Mohammed's death a new line of caliphs came into power and established (762) a new capital on the river Tigris near the site of ancient Babylon. This new city of Bagdad became famous for its wealth, magnificence, and learning. It was five miles across, and at one time may have had as many as two million inhabitants. In the ninth century it rivaled Constantinople and was probably the richest and most splendid city in the world.

The most entertaining example of Arabic literature which has been translated into English is *The Thousand and One*

Nights, or *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, as it is usually called. These include the story of "Sindbad the Sailor," "Aladdin and the Lamp," "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves," and many other delightful tales. Some of the stories came originally from India and were translated into Arabic from the Persian. The collection as we now have it seems to have been made in Egypt, perhaps in the thirteenth century; but many of the stories reflect the life of the Mohammedans when Bagdad was at its height. They give us a lively notion of the general habits and customs of both rich and poor.

The Arabs took kindly to the culture which they found in Egypt, with its traditions of the great school of Alexandria, and in Syria and Persia, where they discovered translations of Aristotle's many treatises. They developed astronomy, medicine, and mathematics and wrote long histories. Many sects appeared who held widely different views in regard to religion, the interpretation of the Koran, and the powers of the rulers. Some drifted far away from the teachings of the prophet. Among these was Omar Khayyám, who was celebrated for his astronomical and algebraic treatises. He wrote in the first half of the twelfth century, in Persian, and left a little volume of verses, *The Rubáiyát*, which the poet Fitzgerald has done into English. He regarded life as a mystery, since we know not whence we came or whither we go. Like Horace and the author of Ecclesiastes, he warned his readers to rejoice in today, since yesterday was gone and tomorrow might never come. To him there was no hope of heaven or fear of hell: we all return to dust.

> Waste not your hour, nor in the vain pursuit
> Of this and that endeavour and dispute;
> Better be jocund with the fruitful Grape
> Than sadden after none, or bitter fruit.

We are but helpless pieces pushed about on the checkerboard of nights and days; nor will all piety or wit cancel half a line, nor all our tears wash out a word in our life's record.

Ah Love! could you and I with Him conspire
To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,
Would not we shatter it to bits—and then
Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire!

So there have been pretty nearly all kinds of Mohammedans —wise and ignorant, scientific and fanatical, cruel and kindly, poetic and prosaic. In these respects they most closely resemble the Christians.

Some of the buildings which the Arabs erected soon after their arrival in Spain still stand. Among these is the mosque at Cordova, with its forest of columns and arches. They raised also, much later, a lofty tower at Seville, the so-called Giralda, constructed of stones taken from ancient Roman and West Gothic buildings. This has been copied by the architects of Madison Square Garden, in New York. The Mohammedans built beautiful palaces and laid out charming gardens with numerous baths when personal cleanliness was at a discount among the Christians. One of these palaces, the Alhambra, built at Granada between 1248 and 1354, is one of the wonders which all tourists visit.

A university was founded at Cordova and became an influential center of science and learning. It was sometimes visited by daring Christian scholars in search of more information than could be found in their own countries. When the medieval universities were established in France and Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Arabic philosophers, especially Avicenna and Averroës, who had rediscovered Aristotle, exercised a great influence on the studies at Paris and elsewhere.

Historians have commonly regarded it as a matter of great good luck that Charles the Hammer and his barbarous soldiers succeeded in driving back the Mohammedans at Tours; but had they been permitted to settle in southern France, they might have developed science and art and medicine far more rapidly than did the Franks, to the history of whom we must now return.

CHAPTER VI

CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS EMPIRE

Charles the Hammer and Pippin his Son

Just as the Pope was becoming the acknowledged head of the Western Church, the Frankish realms came successively under the sway of two important rulers, Charles Martel and his son Pippin the Short, who laid the foundation of Charlemagne's vast empire.

The difficulties which Charles Martel had to face were much the same as those which for centuries to follow confronted the sovereigns of western Europe. The great problem of the mediæval ruler was to make his power felt throughout his whole territory in spite of the many rich and ambitious officials, warlike bishops, and abbots, who eagerly took advantage of all the king's weaknesses and embarrassments to make themselves practically supreme in their respective districts.

The two classes of officers of which we hear most were the counts (Latin *comites*) and the dukes (Latin *duces*). A count ordinarily represented the king within the district comprised in an old municipality of the Empire. Over a number of counts the king might place a duke. Both of these familiar titles were borrowed by the Germans from the names of Roman officials. While the king appointed these officers and might, in theory, dismiss them when he pleased, there was a growing tendency for them to hold their positions for life.

We find Charles Martel fighting the dukes of Aquitaine, Bavaria, and Alemannia, each of whom was endeavoring to make the territory which he was deputed to rule in the king's interest a separate and independent country under his own supremacy. By successive campaigns against these rebellious

magnates, Charles succeeded in reuniting all those outlying districts that tended to forget or ignore their connection with the Frankish empire.

The bishops proved almost, if not quite, as troublesome to the Mayor of the Palace as the dukes, and later the counts. It is true that Charles kept the choice of the bishops in his own hands and refused to give to the clergy and people of the diocese the privilege of electing their head, as the rules of the Church prescribed. But when a bishop had once got possession of the lands attached to the bishopric and exercised the wide powers and influence which fell to him, he was often tempted (especially if he were a nobleman) to use his privileged position to establish a practically independent principality. The same was true of the heads of powerful monasteries. These dangerous bishops and abbots Charles deposed in wholesale fashion. He substituted his own friends for them with little regard to the rulers of the Church; for instance, he bestowed on his nephew the three bishoprics of Paris, Rouen, and Bayeux, besides two monasteries. The new incumbents were, however, no better than the old; they were, indeed, in spite of their clerical robes, only laymen, who continued to fight and hunt in their customary manner.

Charles was able before his death, in 741, to secure the succession to his office of Mayor of the Palace for his two sons, Pippin and Carloman. The brothers left the nominal king on the throne; but he had nothing to do, as the chronicler tells us, "but to be content with his name of king, his flowing hair and long beard; to sit on his throne and play the ruler, listening to the ambassadors who came from all directions, and giving them the answers that had been taught him, as if of his own sovereign will. In reality, however, he had nothing but the royal name and a beggarly income at the will of the Mayor of the Palace." The new mayors had succeeded in putting down all opposition when, to the astonishment of everyone, Carloman abdicated and assumed the gown of a monk. Pippin

took control of the whole Frankish dominion, and we find the unusual statement in the Frankish annals that "the whole land enjoyed peace for two years" (749–750).

Pippin and the Pope

Pippin now felt himself strong enough to get rid of the "do-nothing" king altogether and assume for himself the nominal as well as the real kingship of the Franks. It was, however, a delicate matter to depose even a quite useless monarch, so he determined to consult the head of the Church. To Pippin's query whether it was fitting that the old Merovingian line of Frankish kings, having no power, should continue to reign, the Pope replied, "It seems better that he who has the power in the state should be king and be called king, rather than he who is falsely called king."

It will be noticed that the Pope in no sense created Pippin king, as later Church writers claimed. He sanctioned a usurpation which was practically inevitable and which was carried out with the approbation of the Frankish nation. Raised on the shields of the counts and dukes, anointed by St. Boniface, and blessed by the Pope, Pippin became in 751 the first king of the Carolingian family, which had already for several generations ruled the Franks in all but name.

This participation of the Pope brought about a very fundamental change in the theory of kingship. The kings of the Germans up to this time had been military leaders selected, or holding their office, by the will of the people or, at least, of the aristocracy. Their rule had had no divine sanction, but only that of general acquiescence backed up by sufficient skill and popularity to frustrate the efforts of rivals. By the anointing of Pippin in accordance with the ancient Jewish custom, first by St. Boniface and then by the Pope himself, "a German chieftain was," as Gibbon expressed it, "transformed into the Lord's anointed." The Pope uttered a dire anathema of divine

vengeance against anyone who should attempt to supplant the holy and meritorious race of Pippin. It became, in theory at least, a *religious* duty to obey the king. He came to be regarded by the Church, when he had duly received its sanction, as God's representative on earth. Here we have, transplanted to the West and destined to bear much fruit later, the idea of monarchs "by the grace of God," against whom, however bad they might be, it was not merely treason but sin to revolt.

The sanction, by the Pope, of Pippin's usurpation was but an indication of the good feeling between the two greatest powers in the West—the head of the ever-strengthening Frankish state and the head of the Church. This good feeling quickly ripened into an alliance, momentous for the history of Europe. In order to understand this we must glance at the motives which led the popes to throw off their allegiance to their former sovereigns, the emperors at Constantinople, and turn for help to Pippin and his successors.

For more than a century after the death of Gregory the Great his successors continued to remain respectful subjects of the Roman Emperor in the East. They looked to him for occasional help against the Lombards in northern Italy, who showed a disposition to add Rome to their possessions. In 725, however, Emperor Leo III aroused the bitter opposition of the Pope by issuing a decree forbidding the usual veneration of the images of Christ and the saints. The Emperor was a thoughtful Christian and felt keenly the taunts of the Mohammedans, who held all images in abhorrence and regarded the Christians as idolaters. He therefore ordered all sacred images throughout his empire to be removed from the churches, and all figures on the church walls to be whitewashed over. This aroused serious opposition, even in Constantinople; and the farther west one went, the more obstinate became the resistance. The Pope refused to obey the edict, for he held that the Emperor had no right to interfere with practices hallowed by the Church. He called a council which declared all persons

excommunicated who should "throw down, destroy, profane, or blaspheme the holy images." The opposition of the West was successful, and the images kept their places.[1]

In spite of their abhorrence of the iconoclastic Leo and his successors, the popes did not give up all hope that the emperors might aid them in keeping the Lombards out of Rome. At last a Lombard ruler arose, Aistulf, a "son of iniquity," who refused to consider the prayers or threats of the head of the Church. In 751 Aistulf took Ravenna and threatened Rome. He proposed to substitute his supremacy for that of the Eastern Emperor and make of Italy a single state, with Rome as its capital. This was a critical moment for the peninsula. Was Italy, like Gaul, to be united under a single German people and to develop, as France has done, a characteristic civilization? The Lombards had progressed so far that they were not unfitted to organize a state that should grow into a nation. But the head of the Church could not consent to endanger his independence by becoming the subject of an Italian king. It was therefore the Pope who prevented the establishment of an Italian kingdom at this time and who continued for the same reason to stand in the way of the unification of Italy for more than a thousand years, until he was dispossessed of his realms, not many decades ago, by Victor Emmanuel. After vainly turning in his distress to his natural protector, the Emperor, the Pope had no resource but to appeal to Pippin, upon whose fidelity he had every reason to rely. He crossed the Alps and was received with the greatest cordiality and respect by the Frankish monarch, who returned to Italy with him and relieved Rome (754).

No sooner had Pippin recrossed the Alps than the Lombard king, ever anxious to add Rome to his possessions, again in-

[1] One of the most conspicuous features of early Protestantism, eight hundred years later, was the revival of Emperor Leo's attack upon the statues and frescoes which continued to adorn the churches in Germany, England, and the Netherlands.

vested the Eternal City. Pope Stephen's letters to the king of the Franks at this juncture are characteristic of the time. The Pope warmly argues that Pippin owes all his victories to St. Peter and should now hasten to the relief of his successor. If the king permits the city of the prince of the apostles to be torn and tormented by the Lombards, his own soul will be torn and tormented in hell by the devil and his pestilential angels. These arguments proved effective: Pippin immediately undertook a second expedition to Italy, from which he did not return until the kingdom of the Lombards had become tributary to his own, as Bavaria and Aquitaine already were.

Instead of restoring to the Eastern Emperor the lands which the Lombards had recently occupied, Pippin handed them over to the Pope—on exactly what terms we do not know, since the deed of cession has disappeared. In consequence of these important additions to the former territories of St. Peter, the popes were thereafter the nominal rulers of a large district in central Italy, extending across the peninsula from Ravenna to a point well south of Rome. If, as many writers have maintained, Pippin recognized the Pope as the sovereign of this district, we find here the first state that was destined to endure into the nineteenth century delimited on the map of Europe. A map of Italy as late as the year 1860 shows the same region still marked "States of the Church."

The reign of Pippin is remarkable in several ways. It witnessed the strengthening of the kingly power in the Frankish state, which was soon to embrace most of western Europe and form the starting point for the development of the modern countries of France, Germany, and Austria. It furnishes the first instance of the interference of a Northern prince in the affairs of Italy, which was destined to become the stumbling-block of many a later French and German king. Lastly, the Pope had now a state of his own, which, in spite of its small size, proved one of the most important and permanent in Europe.

Pippin and his son Charlemagne saw only the strength and

not the disadvantage that accrued to their title from the papal sanction. It is none the less true, as Gibbon says, that "under the sacerdotal monarchy of St. Peter, the nations began to resume the practice of seeking, on the banks of the Tiber, their kings, their laws, and the oracles of their fate." We shall have ample evidence of this as we proceed.

Charlemagne the Man and Charlemagne the Medieval Hero

Charlemagne (768–814) is the first historical personage among the German peoples of whom we have any satisfactory knowledge.[1] Compared with him, Theodoric, Charles Martel, Pippin, and the rest are but shadowy figures. The chronicles tell us something of their deeds, but we can make only the vaguest inferences in regard to their character and temperament.

The appearance of Charlemagne, as described by his secretary, so exactly corresponds with the character of the king as exhibited in his great reign, that it is worthy of attention. He was tall and stoutly built; his face was round, his eyes large and keen, his nose somewhat above the common size, his expression bright and cheerful. Whether he stood or sat, his form was full of dignity; for the good proportion and grace of his body prevented the observer from noticing that his neck was rather short and his person somewhat too stout. His step was firm and his aspect manly; his voice was clear, but rather weak for so large a body. He was active in all bodily exercises, delighted in riding and hunting, and was an expert swimmer. His excellent health and his physical alertness and endurance can alone explain the astonishing swiftness with which he moved about his vast realm conducting innumerable campaigns in widely distant regions in startlingly rapid succession.

[1] Charlemagne is the French form for the Latin *Carolus Magnus* ("Charles the Great"). It has been regarded as good English for so long that it seems best to retain it, although some writers, fearful lest one may think of Charles as a Frenchman instead of a German, use the German form, *Karl.*

Charles was interested in learning and knew how to appreciate and encourage scholarship. When at dinner he had someone read to him; he delighted especially in history and in St. Augustine's *City of God*. He could speak Latin well and understood Greek readily. He tried to learn to write, but began too late in life and got no farther than signing his name. He called scholarly men to his court, took advantage of their learning, and did much toward reëstablishing a regular system of public instruction. He was also constantly occupied with buildings and other public works calculated to adorn and benefit his kingdom. He himself planned the remarkable cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle and showed the greatest interest in its furnishings. He commenced two palaces, one near Mainz and the other at Nimwegen, in Holland, and had a long bridge constructed across the Rhine at Mainz.

The impression which his reign made upon men's minds grew even after his death. He became the hero of a whole cycle of romantic but wholly unhistoric adventures and achievements which were as devoutly believed for centuries as his most authentic deeds. In the fancy of an old monk in the monastery of St. Gall, writing of Charlemagne not long after his death, the king of the Franks swept over Europe surrounded by countless legions of soldiers who formed a sea of bristling steel. Knights of superhuman valor formed his court and became the models for the chivalrous spirit of the following centuries. Distorted but imposing, the Charlemagne of poetry meets us all through the Middle Ages.

A study of Charlemagne's reign will substantiate our first impression that he was a truly remarkable person, one of the striking figures in the world's records and preëminently the hero of the Middle Ages. To few men has it been given to influence so profoundly the course of European progress. We shall consider him first as a conqueror, then as an organizer and creator of governmental institutions, and lastly as a promoter of culture and enlightenment.

Charlemagne's Conquests in Germany and Italy

It was Charlemagne's ideal to bring all the German peoples together into one great Christian empire, and he was wonderfully successful in attaining his end. Only a small portion of what is now called Germany was included in the kingdom ruled over by Pippin. Frisia and Bavaria had been Christianized; and their native rulers had been induced by the efforts of Charlemagne's predecessors and of the missionaries, especially Boniface, to recognize formally the overlordship of the Franks. Between these two half-independent countries lay the unconquered Saxons. They were as yet pagans and appear to have still clung to much the same institutions as those under which they had lived when the Roman historian Tacitus had described them seven centuries earlier.

The Saxons occupied the region beginning somewhat east of Cologne and extending to the Elbe, and north to where the great cities of Bremen and Hamburg are now situated. The present kingdom of Saxony would hardly have come within their boundaries. The Saxons had no towns or roads, and were consequently very difficult to conquer, as they could retreat, with their few possessions, into the forests or swamps as soon as they found themselves unable to meet an invader in the open field. Yet so long as they remained unconquered they constantly threatened the Frankish kingdom, and the incorporation of their country was essential to the rounding-out of its boundaries. During his long military career Charlemagne never undertook any other task half so serious as the subjugation of the Saxons, and it occupied his attention for many years. Nine successive rebellions had to be put down, and it was finally due rather to the Church than to Charlemagne's military prowess that the great task was brought to a successful issue.

Nowhere do we find a more striking example of the influence of the Church than in the reliance that Charlemagne placed upon it in his dealings with the Saxons. He deemed it quite

as essential that after a rebellion they should promise to honor the Church and be baptized as that they should pledge themselves to remain true and faithful vassals of the king. He was in quite as much haste to found bishoprics and abbeys as to build fortresses. The law for the newly conquered Saxon lands, issued sometime between 775 and 790, provides the same death penalty for him who "shall have shown himself unfaithful to the lord king" and him who "shall have wished to hide himself unbaptized and shall have scorned to come to baptism and shall have wished to remain a pagan." Charlemagne believed the Christianizing of the Saxons so important a part of his duty that he decreed that all should suffer death who entered a church by violence and carried off anything by force, or even failed to abstain from meat during Lent.[1] No one, under penalty of heavy fines, was to make vows, in the pagan fashion, at trees or springs, or partake of any heathen feasts in honor of the demons (as the Christians termed the heathen deities), or fail to present infants for baptism before they were a year old.

For the support of the local churches, those who lived in the parish were to give toward three hundred acres of land and a house for the priest. "Likewise, in accordance with the mandate of God, we command that all shall give a tithe of their property and labor to the churches and the priests; let the nobles as well as the freemen, likewise the serfs, according to that which God shall have given to each Christian, return a part to God."

[1] These harsh punishments are mitigated by the following provision: "If after secretly committing any one of these mortal crimes any one shall flee of his own accord to the priest and, after confessing, shall wish to do penance, let him be freed, on the testimony of the priest, from death." This is but another illustration of the theory that the Church was in the Middle Ages a governmental institution. It would be quite out of harmony with modern ideas should the courts of law, in dealing with one who had committed a crime, consider in any way the relations of the suspected criminal to his priest or minister, or modify his sentence on account of any religious duties that the criminal might consent to perform.

These provisions are characteristic of the theory of the Middle Ages according to which the civil government and the Church went hand in hand in ordering and governing the life of the people. Defection from the Church was deemed by the State quite as serious a crime as treason against itself. While the claims of the two institutions sometimes conflicted, there was no question in the minds either of the king's officials or of the clergy that both the civil and the ecclesiastical government were absolutely necessary; neither class ever dreamed that it could get along without the other.

Before the Frankish conquest the Saxons had no towns. Now, around the seat of the bishop or about a monastery men began to collect, and towns and cities to grow up. Of these the chief was Bremen, which is still one of the leading ports of Germany.

Pippin, it will be remembered, had covenanted with the papacy to protect it from its adversaries. The king of the Lombards had taken advantage of Charlemagne's seeming preoccupation with his German affairs again to attack the city of Rome. The Pope immediately demanded the aid of Charlemagne, who prepared to carry out his father's pledges. He ordered the Lombard ruler to return the cities that he had taken from the Pope. Upon his refusal to do this, Charlemagne invaded Lombardy in 773 with a great army and took Pavia, the capital, after a long siege. The Lombard king was forced to become a monk, and his treasure was divided among the Frankish soldiers. Charlemagne then took the extremely important step, in 774, of having himself recognized by all the Lombard dukes and counts as king of the Lombards.

The considerable provinces of Aquitaine and Bavaria had never formed an integral part of the Frankish realms, but had remained semi-independent under their native dukes up to the time of Charlemagne. Aquitaine, whose dukes had given Pippin much trouble, was incorporated into the Frankish state in 769. As for the Bavarians, Charlemagne felt that so long

as they remained under their duke he could not rely upon them to defend the Frankish empire against the Slavs, who were constantly threatening the frontiers. So he compelled the duke of Bavaria to surrender his possessions, shut him up in a monastery, and proceeded to portion out the duchy among his own counts. He thus added to his realms the district that lay between his new Saxon conquest and the Lombard kingdom, thereby rounding out and consolidating his territories.

So far we have spoken only of the relations of Charlemagne with the Germans, for even the Lombard kingdom was established by the Germans. He had, however, other peoples to deal with, especially the Slavs on the east (who were one day to build up the kingdoms of Poland and Bohemia, and the vast Russian empire) and, on the opposite boundary of his dominion, the Arabs in Spain. Against these it was necessary to protect his realms, and the second part of Charlemagne's reign was devoted to what may be called his foreign policy. A single campaign in 789 seems to have sufficed to subdue the Slavs, who lay to the north and east of the Saxons, and to force the Bohemians to acknowledge the supremacy of the Frankish king and pay tribute to him.[1]

The necessity of insuring the Frankish realms against any new uprising of these non-German nations led to the establishment, on the confines of the kingdom, of *marches*; that is, districts under the military control of counts of the march, or *margraves*.[2] Their business was to prevent any hostile incursions into the interior of the kingdom. Much depended upon

[1] This by no means settled the question whether the Bohemians (Czechs) were permanently to acknowledge German rule. The struggle between Bohemians and Germans lasted almost a thousand years, and resulted after the World War in the creation and recognition of an independent Czechish nation—Czechoslovakia. The bitterness between Bohemians and Germans through the centuries caused from time to time serious commotions involving other portions of Europe, as we shall see.

[2] The king of Prussia enjoyed (down until 1918), among other titles, that of "Margrave of Brandenburg." The German word *Mark* is often used for "march" on maps of Germany.

the efficiency of these men; in many cases they founded powerful families and later helped to disintegrate the Empire by establishing themselves as practically independent rulers.

At an assembly that Charlemagne held in 777, ambassadors appeared before him from certain disaffected Mohammedans. They had fallen out with the emir of Cordova[1] and now offered to become the faithful subjects of Charlemagne if he would come to their aid. In consequence in the following year he undertook his first expedition to Spain. The district north of the Ebro was conquered by the Franks after some years of war, and Charlemagne established the Spanish March.[2] In this way he began that gradual expulsion of the Mohammedans from the peninsula which was to be carried on by slowly extending conquests of Spanish princes until 1492, when Granada, the last Mohammedan stronghold, fell.

Charlemagne becomes a Roman Emperor

But the most famous of all the achievements of Charlemagne was his reëstablishment of the Western Empire in the year 800. It came about in this wise. Charlemagne went to Rome in that year to settle a controversy between Pope Leo III and his enemies. To celebrate the satisfactory adjustment of the dispute, the Pope held a solemn service on Christmas Day in St. Peter's. As Charlemagne was kneeling before the altar during this service, the Pope approached him and set a crown upon his head, saluting him, amid the acclamation of those present, as "Emperor of the Romans."

[1] The Mohammedan state had broken up in the eighth century, and the ruler of Spain first assumed the title of "Emir" (about 756) and later (929) that of "Caliph." The latter title had originally been enjoyed only by the head of the whole Arab empire, who had his capital at Damascus and later at Bagdad.

[2] As Charlemagne was crossing the Pyrenees, on his way back from Spain, his rear guard was attacked in the pass of Roncesvalles. The chronicle simply states that Roland, count of Brittany, was slain. The episode, however, became the subject of one of the most famous of the epics of the Middle Ages, the *Song of Roland*. (See page 285.)

The reasons for this extraordinary act, which Charlemagne afterward persistently asserted took him completely by surprise, are given in one of the Frankish histories, the *Chronicles of Lorsch*, as follows:

> The name of Emperor had ceased among the Greeks, for they were enduring the reign of a woman [Irene], wherefore it seemed good both to Leo, the apostolic pope, and to the holy fathers [the bishops] who were in council with him, and to all Christian men, that they should name Charles, king of the Franks, as Emperor. For he held Rome itself, where the ancient Cæsars had always dwelt, in addition to all his other possessions in Italy, Gaul, and Germany. Wherefore, as God had granted him all these dominions, it seemed just to all that he should take the title of Emperor, too, when it was offered to him at the wish of all Christendom.

Charlemagne appears to have accepted gracefully the honor thus thrust upon him. Even if he had no right to the imperial title, there was an obvious propriety and expediency in granting it to him under the circumstances. Before his coronation by the Pope he was only king of the Franks and the Lombards, but his conquests seemed to entitle him to a more comprehensive designation which should include his outlying dependencies. Then the imperial power at Constantinople had been in the hands of heretics, from the standpoint of the Western Church, ever since Emperor Leo had issued his edict against the veneration of images. What was still worse, the throne had been usurped, shortly before the coronation of Charlemagne, by the wicked Irene, who had deposed and blinded her son, Constantine VI. The coronation of Charlemagne was therefore only a recognition of the real political conditions in the West.[1]

The empire now reëstablished in the West was considered to be a continuation of the Roman Empire founded by Augustus. Charlemagne was reckoned the immediate successor of Constantine VI, whom Irene had deposed. Yet in spite of this

[1] See *Readings*, chap. vii.

EUROPE
in the time of
CHARLEMAGNE
A. D. 814
Original Possessions
Conquest by Charlemagne
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Scale of Miles.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
CALIPHATE
Orkney Is.
Shetland Is.
The Hebrides
Iona
Britons
Anglo-Saxons
Nimwegen
Boulogne
Aix-la-Chapelle
Corbie
Soissons
Paris
Seine
Verdun
Orleans
Tours
Poitiers
Lyon
Loire
Garonne
Toulouse
NAVARRE
SPANISH MARCHES
Ebro R.
Saragossa
Toledo
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Seville
Cordova
Granada
Guadalquivir R.
Strait of Gibraltar
Cadiz
Tangier
MOROCCO
Lisbon
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
BRITTANY
NEUSTRIA
AQUITAINE
BURGUNDY
Rhone
Marseille
Barcelona
Balearic Is.
Sardinia
Corsica
Genova
Milan
Pavia
LOMBARDY
Venice
Ravenna
Florence
Rome
MT. CASSINO
Naples
Amalfi
DUCHY OF BENEVENTO
Palermo
Sicily
Syracuse
Malta
Carthage
Kairouan
TUNIS
Tripoli
Hamburg
Elbe R.
Bremen
Verden
Rhine
Cologne
SAXONY
Fulda
Mayence
Prague
Lorsch
AUSTRASIA
Strasbourg
Regensburg
BAVARIA
DALMATIA
ADRIATIC
Longitude

Novgorod
ONIC RACES
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Hungarians (Magyars)
Danube
Cherson
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
BULGARIA
Sofia
Adrianople
Constantinople
Trapezus
Araxes
Nicæa
Angora
PHRYGIA
Iconium
Edessa
MESOPOTAMIA
Tigris
Athens
Antioch
Rhodes
Cyprus
Crete
Sidon
Tyre
Acre
Damascus
Nazareth
Jaffa
Ascalon
Jerusalem
AN SEA
Alexandria
Pelusium
BAGDAD
OF
om Greenwich
M.-N. ENG., BUFFALO.

fancied continuity it is hardly necessary to say that the position of the new emperor had little in common with that of Trajan or Theodosius the Great. In the first place, the Eastern emperors continued to reign in Constantinople for centuries, quite regardless of Charlemagne and his successors. In the second place, the German kings who wore the imperial crown after Charlemagne were generally too weak really to rule over Germany and northern Italy, to say nothing of the rest of western Europe. Nevertheless the Western Empire, which in the twelfth century came to be called the Holy Roman Empire, endured for over a thousand years. It came to an end only in 1806, when the last of the emperors, wearied of his empty if venerable title, laid down the crown as a result of the irruption into German affairs of the brand-new emperor, Napoleon I, who claimed to be Charlemagne's successor!

The assumption of the title of "Emperor" was destined to make the German rulers a great deal of trouble. It constantly led them into futile efforts to maintain a supremacy over Italy, which lay without their natural boundaries. Then the circumstances under which Charlemagne was crowned made it possible for the popes to claim, later, that it was they who had transferred the imperial power from the old Eastern line of emperors to the Carolingian house, and that this was a proof of their right to dispose of the crown as they pleased. The difficulties which arose necessitated many a weary journey to Rome for the emperors and many unworthy conflicts between the temporal and spiritual heads of Christendom.

Charlemagne's Plan of Government

The task of governing his vast and heterogeneous dominions taxed even the highly gifted and untiring Charlemagne; it quite exceeded the capacity of his successors. The same difficulties continued to exist that had confronted Charles Martel and Pippin,—above all a scanty royal revenue and over-

powerful officials who were prone to neglect the interests and commands of their sovereign. Charlemagne's distinguished statesmanship is nowhere so clearly seen as in his measures for extending his control to the very confines of his realms.

His income, like that of all medieval rulers, came chiefly from his royal estates, since there was no system of general taxation such as had existed under the Roman Empire. He consequently took the greatest care that his numerous plantations should be well cultivated and that not even a turnip or an egg which was due him should be withheld. An elaborate set of regulations for his farms is preserved, which sheds much light upon the times.[1]

The officials upon whom the Frankish kings were forced to rely chiefly were the counts,—the "hand and voice of the king" wherever he could not be in person. They were to maintain order, see that justice was done in their districts, and raise troops when the king needed them. On the frontier were the counts of the march, or margraves (marquises), already mentioned. These titles, together with that of "duke," still exist as titles of nobility in Europe, although they are no longer associated with governmental duties except where their holders have the right to sit in the upper house of parliament.

To keep the counts in order, Charlemagne appointed royal commissioners (the *missi dominici*), whom he dispatched to all parts of his realm to investigate and report to him how things were going in the districts assigned to them. They were sent in pairs, a bishop and a layman, so that they might act as a check on one another. Their circuits were changed each year so that they should have no chance to enter into conspiracy with the counts, whom it was their special business to watch.[2]

The revival of the Roman Empire in the West made no difference in Charlemagne's system of government, except that

[1] See extracts from these regulations, and an account of one of Charlemagne's farms, in *Readings*, chap. vii.

[2] For the capitulary relating to the duties of the *missi*, see *Readings*, chap. vii.

he required all his subjects above twelve years of age to take a new oath of fidelity to him as Emperor. He held important assemblies of the nobles and prelates each spring or summer, where the interests of the Empire were considered. With the sanction of his advisers he issued an extraordinary series of laws, called *capitularies*, a number of which have been preserved. With the bishops and abbots he discussed the needs of the Church and, above all, the necessity of better schools for both clergy and laity. The reforms which he sought to introduce give us an opportunity of learning the condition in which Europe found itself after four hundred years of disorder.

Charlemagne and the Schools

Charlemagne was the first important king since Theodoric to pay any attention to book learning, which had fared badly enough since the death of Boethius, three centuries before. About 650 the supply of papyrus had been cut off, owing to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs; and as paper had not yet been introduced, there was only the very expensive parchment to write upon. While this had the advantage of being more durable than papyrus, its cost discouraged the multiplication of copies of books. The eighth century (the century immediately preceding Charlemagne's coronation) is declared by the learned Benedictine monks, in their great history of French literature, to have been the most ignorant, the darkest, and the most barbarous period ever seen, at least in France. The scanty documents of the period often indicate great ignorance and carelessness on the part of those who wrote them out.

Yet in spite of this dark picture there was promise for the future. It was evident, even before Charlemagne's time, that the Western world was not to continue indefinitely in the path of ignorance. Latin could not be forgotten, for that was the language of the Church, and all its official communications were in that tongue. The teachings of the Christian religion

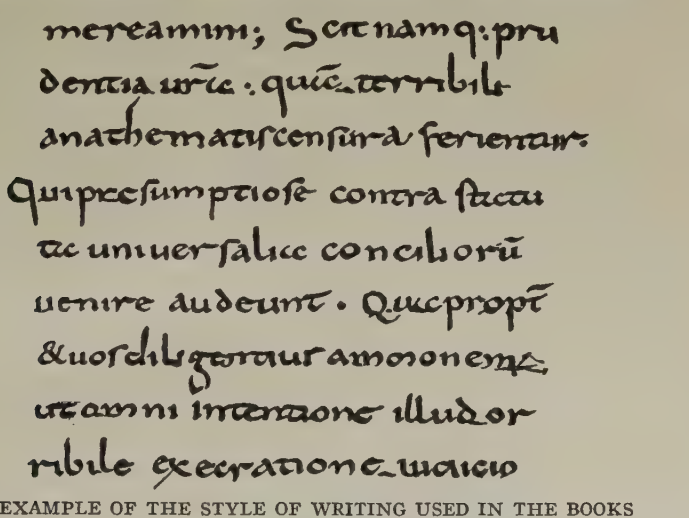
had to be gathered from the Bible and other books, and the Church services formed a small literature by themselves. Consequently it was absolutely necessary that the Church should maintain some sort of education in order to perform its complicated services and conduct the extensive duties which devolved upon it. All the really educated Church officers, whatever their nationality, must have been able to read the Latin classics, if they were so inclined. Then there were the compilations of ancient knowledge already mentioned,[1] which, incredibly crude and scanty as they were, kept up the memory of the past. They at least perpetuated the names of the various branches of knowledge.

Charlemagne was the first temporal ruler to realize the serious neglect of education, even among the clergy. Learning, he declared, had been well-nigh forgotten "through the negligence of our ancestors." Two interesting letters from him are preserved, written before he became Emperor, relating to this subject. In one addressed to an important bishop he says:

> Letters have been written to us frequently in recent years from various monasteries, stating that the brethren who dwelt therein were offering up holy and pious supplications in our behalf. We observed that the sentiments in these letters were exemplary but that the form of expression was uncouth, because what true devotion faithfully dictated to the mind, the tongue, untrained by reason of neglect of study, was not able to express in a letter without mistakes. So it came about that we began to fear lest, perchance, as the skill in writing was less than it should be, the wisdom necessary to the understanding of the Holy Scriptures was also much less than was needful. We all know well that, although errors of speech are dangerous, errors of understanding are far more dangerous. Therefore, we exhort you not merely not to neglect the study of letters, but with a most humble mind, pleasing to God, earnestly to devote yourself to learning, in order that you may be able the more easily and correctly to penetrate the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures.

[1] See pages 27 and 54.

It seemed to Charlemagne that it was the duty of the Church not only to look after the education of its own officers but to provide the opportunity of at least an elementary education for the people at large. In accordance with this conviction he



AN EXAMPLE OF THE STYLE OF WRITING USED IN THE BOOKS OF CHARLEMAGNE'S TIME[1]

issued (789) an admonition to the clergy to gather together the children of both freemen and serfs in their neighborhood and establish schools "in which the boys may learn to read."[2]

[1] These lines are taken from a manuscript written in 825. They form a part of a copy of Charlemagne's admonition to the clergy (789) just mentioned. The part here given is addressed to the bishops and warns them of the terrible results of disobeying the rules of the Church. Perhaps the scribe did not fully understand what he was doing, for he has made some of those mistakes which Charlemagne was so anxious to avoid. Then there are some abbreviations which make the lines difficult to read. They ought probably to have run as follows: . . . *mereamini. Scit namque prudentia vestra, quam terribili anathematis censura feriuntur qui praesumptiose contra statuta universalium conciliorum venire audeant. Quapropter et vos diligentius ammonemus, ut omni intentione illud horribile execrationis judicium.* One may note the general resemblance in the form of the small ("lower-case") letters to those we now use, and the employment of the old Roman letters as "capitals" to emphasize the opening of a sentence.

[2] See *Readings*, chap. vii.

It would be impossible to say how many of the innumerable abbots and bishops established schools in accordance with Charlemagne's recommendations. It is certain that famous centers of learning existed at Tours, Fulda, Corbie, Orleans, and other places during his reign. Charlemagne further promoted the cause of education by the establishment of the famous "School of the palace" for the instruction of his own children and the sons of his nobles. He placed the Englishman Alcuin at the head of the school, and called distinguished men from Italy and elsewhere as teachers. The best-known of these was the historian Paulus Diaconus, who wrote a history of the Lombards, to which we owe most of what we know about them.

Charlemagne appears to have been particularly impressed with the constant danger of mistakes in copying books, a task frequently turned over to ignorant and careless persons. After recommending the founding of schools, he continues:

> Correct carefully the Psalms, the signs used in music, the [Latin] grammar, and the religious books used in every monastery or bishopric; since those who desire to pray to God properly often pray badly because of the incorrect books. And do not let your boys misread or miswrite them. If there is any need to copy the Gospel, Psalter, or Missal, let men of maturity do the writing with great diligence.

These precautions were amply justified, for a careful transmission of the literature of the past was as important as the attention to education. It will be noted that Charlemagne made no attempt to revive the learning of Greece and Rome. He deemed it quite sufficient if the churchmen would learn their Latin well enough to read the missal and the Bible intelligently.

The hopeful beginning that was made under Charlemagne in the revival of education and intellectual interest was destined to prove disappointing in its immediate results. It is true that the ninth century produced a few noteworthy men who have

left works which indicate acuteness and mental training. But the break-up of Charlemagne's empire, the struggles between his descendants, the coming of new barbarians, and the disorder caused by the unruly feudal lords, who were not inclined to recognize any master, all conspired to keep the world back for at least two centuries more. Indeed, the tenth and the first half of the eleventh centuries seem, at first sight, little better than the seventh or the eighth. Yet ignorance and disorder never were quite so prevalent in western Europe after Charlemagne as they had been before.

The Disruption of Charlemagne's Empire

It was a matter of great importance to Europe whether Charlemagne's extensive empire was, after his death, to remain intact or to fall apart. He himself appears to have had no expectation that it would hold together, for in 806 he divided it up in a very arbitrary manner among his three sons. We do not know whether he was led thus to undo his life's work simply because the older tradition of a division among the king's sons was still too strong to permit him to hand down all his possessions to his eldest son, or because he believed it would be impossible to keep together so vast and heterogeneous a realm. However this may have been, the death of his two eldest sons left only Louis (called the "Pious"), who succeeded his father both as king and as Emperor.

Louis the Pious had been on the throne but a few years before he took up the all-important problem of determining what share each of his sons should have in the Empire. As they were far too ambitious and unruly to submit to the decisions of their father, we find no less than six different partitions between the years 817 and 840. We cannot stop to trace these complicated and transient arrangements, or the rebellions of the undutiful sons, who set the worst possible example to the ambitious and disorderly nobles. On the death of Louis the

Pious, in 840, his second son, Louis the German, was in possession of Bavaria, and had at various times been recognized as ruler of most of those parts of the Empire now included in Germany. The youngest son, Charles the Bald, had all the western portion of the Frankish possessions, while Lothaire, the eldest, had been designated as Emperor and ruled over Italy and the district lying between the possessions of the younger brothers.

These three ever-wrangling brothers concluded a treaty at Verdun (843) which has gained more fame in history books than it really deserves. It was just a "scrap of paper," but it indicated the general trend of affairs. Charles the Bald was assigned a region destined to become France; Louis the German, the eastern realms of Charlemagne, destined to become Germany. In between was the strange kingdom of the eldest son, Lothaire, extending from the North Sea to Rome.

In the kingdom of Charles the Bald the dialects spoken by the majority of the people were derived directly from the spoken Latin, and in time developed into Provençal and French. In the kingdom of Louis the German, on the other hand, both people and language were German. The narrow strip of country between these regions, which fell to Lothaire, came to be called *Lotharii regnum*, or "the kingdom of Lothaire." This name was corrupted in time to "Lotharingia" and, later, to "Lorraine." It is interesting to note that this territory has formed a part of the debatable middle ground over which the French and Germans have struggled so obstinately down to our own day.

We have a curious and important evidence of the difference of language just referred to, in the so-called Strasbourg oath (842). Just before the settlement at Verdun the younger brothers had found it advisable to pledge themselves, in an especially solemn and public manner, to support each other against the pretensions of Lothaire. First, each of the two brothers addressed his soldiers in their own language, absolving

them from their allegiance to him should he desert his brother. Louis then took the oath in what the chronicle calls the *lingua romana*, so that his brother's soldiers might understand him; and Charles repeated his oath in the *lingua teudisca*, for the benefit of Louis's soldiers.[1] Fortunately the texts of both these oaths have been preserved. They are exceedingly interesting and important as furnishing our earliest examples (except some

MAP OF TREATY OF VERDUN (843)

lists of words) of the language spoken by the common people, which was only just beginning to be written. Probably German was very rarely written before this time, as all who could write at all wrote in Latin. The same is true of the old Romance tongue (from which modern French developed), which had already drifted far from the Latin.

When Lothaire died (855), he left Italy and the middle kingdom to his three sons. By 870 two of these had died; and

[1] See p. 281, for the French version. A person familiar with Latin and French could puzzle out a part of the oath in the *lingua romana*; that in the *lingua teudisca* would be almost equally intelligible to one familiar with German.

their uncles, Charles the Bald and Louis the German, did not hesitate to appropriate the middle kingdom, and to divide it between them by the Treaty of Mersen. This reaffirmed the tendency of the Treaty of Verdun. Italy was left to Lothaire's only surviving son, together with the imperial crown, which was to mean nothing, however, for a hundred years to come. The result was that as early as 870 western Europe was divided

MAP OF TREATY OF MERSEN (870)

into three great districts which corresponded with startling exactness to three important states of modern Europe—France, Germany, and Italy.

For two or three years, owing to circumstances which we need not review, the whole empire was reunited under an incompetent ruler, Charles the Fat, a great-grandson of Charlemagne; but he was deposed in 887, and a general disintegration set in. Paris had been bravely defended against the Northmen by Count Odo, and so the nobility of the region chose him for king. In the southeast of what is today France there grew up a kingdom of Burgundy (or Arles, as it is often

called). Counts and other important landowners managed to establish themselves as rulers of the districts around their fortresses, although they did not assume the title of "King." In the East Frankish kingdom the various German peoples whom Charlemagne had managed to control, especially the Bavarians and Saxons, began to revive their old national independence. In Italy the disruption was even more marked than in the North.

The Age of Disorder

It is clear from what has been said that none of the rulers into whose hands the fragments of Charlemagne's empire fell showed himself powerful and skillful enough to govern properly a great territory like that embraced in France or Germany today. The difficulties in the way of establishing a well-regulated state, in the modern sense of the word, were almost insurmountable. In the first place, it was well-nigh impossible to keep in touch with all parts of a wide realm. The wonderful roads which the Romans had built had generally fallen into decay, for there was no longer a corps of engineers maintained by the government to keep them up and repair the bridges. In those parts of Charlemagne's possessions that lay beyond the confines of the old Roman Empire, the impediments to travel must have been still worse than in Gaul and on the Rhine: there not even the vestiges of Roman roads existed.

In addition to the difficulty of getting about, the king was hampered by the scarcity of money in the Middle Ages. This prevented him from securing the services of a great corps of paid officials, such as every government finds necessary today. Moreover, it made it impossible for him to support the standing army which would have been necessary to suppress the constant insubordination of his officials and of the powerful and restless nobility, whose chief interest in life was fighting.

The disintegration of the Frankish empire was hastened by the continued invasions from all sides. From the north—Den-

mark, Norway, and Sweden—came the Scandinavian pirates, the Northmen.[1] They were skillful and daring seamen, who not only harassed the coast of the North Sea but made their way up the rivers, plundering and burning towns inland as far as Paris. On the eastern boundary of the Empire the Germans were forced to engage in constant warfare with the Slavs. Before long the Hungarians, a savage race drifting in from Asia, began their terrible incursions into central Germany and northern Italy. From the south came the Mohammedans, who had got possession of Sicily (in 827) and who were terrorizing southern Italy and France, even attacking Rome itself.

In the absence of a powerful king with a well-organized army at his back, each district was left to look out for itself. Doubtless many counts, margraves, bishops, and other great landed proprietors who were gradually becoming independent princes, earned the loyalty of the people about them by taking the lead in defending the country against its invaders and by establishing fortresses as places of refuge when the community was hard pressed. These conditions serve to explain why such government as continued to exist during the centuries following the deposition of Charles the Fat was necessarily carried on, mainly, not by the king and his officers but by the great landholders. The grim fortresses of the medieval lords, which appeared upon almost every point of vantage throughout western Europe during the Middle Ages, would not have been tolerated by the king had he been powerful enough to destroy them. They plainly indicate that their owners were practically independent rulers.

[1] The Northmen extended their expeditions to Spain, Italy, and even into Russia. In England, under the name of Danes, we find them forcing Alfred the Great to recognize them as the masters of northern England (878). The Norse pirates were often called *vikings*, from their habit of leaving their long boats in the *vik*, that is, bay or inlet. Northmen settled in Iceland, and our knowledge of their civilization and customs comes chiefly from the Icelandic *sagas*, or tales. Of these perhaps none is finer than *The Story of Burnt Njal*. See C. H. Haskins's *Normans in European History*.

Yet we must not infer that the State ceased to exist altogether during the centuries of confusion that followed the break-up of Charlemagne's empire, or that it fell entirely apart into little local governments independent of one another. In the first place, a king always retained some of his ancient majesty. He might be weak and without the means to enforce his rights and to compel his more powerful subjects to meet their obligations toward him; yet he was, after all, the *king*, solemnly anointed by the Church as God's representative on earth. He was always something more than a feudal lord. The kings were destined to get the upper hand before many centuries in England, France, and Spain, and finally in Italy and Germany, and to destroy the castles behind whose walls their haughty nobles had long defied the royal power.

In the second place, the innumerable independent landowners were held together by *feudalism*. One who had land to spare granted a portion of it to another person on condition that the one receiving the land should swear to be true to him and perform certain services, such as fighting for him, giving him counsel, and lending aid when he was in particular difficulties. In this way the relation of lord and vassal originated. All lords were vassals either of the king or of other lords, and consequently all were bound together by solemn engagements to be loyal to one another and care for one another's interests. Feudalism served thus as a sort of substitute for the State. *Private* arrangements between one landowner and another took the place of the weakened bond between the subject and his king.

The feudal form of government and the feudal system of holding land are so different from anything with which we are now familiar that it is difficult for us to understand them. Yet unless we do understand them, a great part of the history of Europe during the past thousand years will be well-nigh meaningless.[1]

[1] Extracts from the chronicles of the ninth century illustrating the disorder of the period will be found in *Readings*, chap. viii.

CHAPTER VII

FEUDALISM

Origins of the Feudal System

When the traveler in France or Germany comes upon the picturesque ruins of a medieval castle, perched upon some rocky cliff, accessible from one side only and commanding the surrounding country, he cannot fail to see that those massive walls, with their towers and battlements, their moat and drawbridge, were never intended as a dwelling place for the peaceful household of a private citizen but rather as the fortified palace of a ruler. We can picture the great hall crowded with armed retainers, who were ready to fight for the proprietor when he was disposed to attack a neighboring lord, and who knew that below were the dungeons to which the lord might send them if they ventured to rebel against his authority.

In order to understand the position of the medieval noble and the origin of feudalism we must consider the situation of the great landowners. A large part of western Europe in the time of Charlemagne appears to have been divided up into great estates, resembling the Roman *villas*. These estates—or *manors*, as they were called—were cultivated mainly by *serfs*, who were bound to the land and were under the control of its proprietor. They tilled such part of the estate as the owner reserved for his own particular use, and provided for his needs and their own without the necessity of buying much from the outside. When we speak of a medieval landowner we mean one who held one or more of these manors, which served to support him and left him free to busy himself fighting with other proprietors in the same position as himself. A fuller account of the manor will be given in Chapter XII.

It had been common even before Charlemagne's time to grant to monasteries and churches, and even to individuals, an extraordinary privilege which exempted their lands from the presence or visits of government officials. No public officer with the power to hear cases, exact fines, obtain lodging or entertainment for the king and his followers when traveling about, or make requisitions of any kind, was to enter the lands or villages belonging to the monastery or person enjoying the *immunity*. These exemptions were evidently sought with a view to getting rid of the exactions of the king's officials and appropriating the various fines and fees, rather than with the purpose of usurping governmental prerogatives. But the result was that the monasteries or individuals who were thus freed from the requisitions of the government were left to perform its functions,—not, however, as yet in their own right, but as representatives of the king.[1]

It is not hard to see how those who enjoyed this privilege might, as the central power weakened, become altogether independent. It is certain that a great many landowners who had been granted no exemption from the jurisdiction of the king's officers, and a great many of the officers themselves, especially the counts and margraves, gradually broke away altogether from the control of those above them and became the rulers of the regions in which they lived.

The counts were in a particularly favorable position to usurp for their own benefit the powers which they were supposed to exercise for the king. Charlemagne had chosen his counts and margraves in most cases from the wealthy and distinguished families of his realms. As he had little money, he generally rewarded their services by grants of estates, which served only to increase their independence. They gradually came to look upon their office and their land as private property, and they were naturally disposed to hand it on to their sons after them. Charlemagne had been able to keep control of his agents by

[1] See an example of immunities in *Readings*, chap. ix.

means of the *missi*. After his death his system fell into disuse, and it became increasingly difficult to get rid of inefficient or rebellious officers.

Feudalism was the natural outcome of these and other peculiar conditions which prevailed in western Europe during the ninth and tenth centuries. Its chief elements were not newly invented or discovered at that period, but were only combined in order to meet the demands of the times. We have seen how difficult it was in this age of disorder to hold together and properly control a large realm. The granting of immunities left those who enjoyed them practically free from interference by the government, and the tendency of government officials to make their position hereditary in their families further diminished the control of the king over his agents. There were two other, older Roman customs which underlay feudalism as it developed—the *beneficium* and *commendation*.

We may recall that before the barbarian inroads, the small landowners in the Roman Empire had often found it to their advantage to give up the title to their land to more powerful neighboring proprietors.[1] The scarcity of labor was such that the new owner, while extending the protection of his name over the land, was glad to permit the former owner to continue to use it, rent-free, much as if it still belonged to him. With the invasions of the barbarians the lot of the defenseless small landholder became worse. He had a new resource, however, in the monasteries. The monks were delighted to accept any real estate which the owner—for the good of his soul and to gain the protection of the saint to whom the monastery church was dedicated—felt moved to turn over to them on the understanding that the abbot should permit the former owner to continue to manage his fields. Though he no longer owned the land, he still enjoyed its products and had only to pay a trifling sum each year in recognition of the monastery's owner-

[1] See page 24.

ship.[1] The use, or *usufruct*, of the land which was thus granted by the monastery to its former owner was called a *beneficium*. The same term was applied to the numerous grants which churches made from their vast possessions for limited periods and upon various conditions. We find also the Frankish kings and other great landowners disposing of their lands in a similar fashion. The *beneficium* forms the first stage in the development of medieval landowning.

Side by side with the *beneficium* grew up another institution, *commendation*, which helps to explain the relation of lord and vassal in medieval times. Under the later Roman Empire the freeman who owned no land and found himself unable to gain a living might become the dependent of some rich and powerful neighbor, who agreed to feed, clothe, and protect him on condition that he should engage to be faithful to his patron, "love all that he loved and shun all that he shunned."[2]

The invading Germans, however, had a custom that so closely resembled *commendation* that scholars have found it impossible to decide whether we should attribute more influence to the Roman or to the German institution in the development of feudalism. We learn from Tacitus that the young German warriors were in the habit of pledging their fidelity to a popular chieftain, who agreed to support his faithful followers if they would fight at his side. The *comitatus*, as Tacitus named this arrangement, was not regarded by the Germans as a mere practical business agreement but was looked upon as highly honorable alike to lord and man. Like the later relations of vassal and lord, it was entered upon with a solemn ceremony,

[1] See an example of this form of grant in the seventh century in *Readings*, chap. ix. The reader will also find there a considerable number of illustrations of feudal contracts etc.

[2] See the formula of "commendation" in *Readings*, chap. ix. The fact that the Roman imperial government forbade this practice under heavy penalties suggests that the local magnates used their retainers to establish their independence of the imperial taxgatherers and other government officials.

and the bond of fidelity was sanctioned by an oath. The obligations of mutual aid and support established between the leader and his followers were considered most sacred.

While there was a great difference between the homeless and destitute fellow who by commendation became the humble dependent of a rich Roman landowner and the noble young German warrior who sat at the board of a distinguished military leader, both of these relations help to account for the later feudal arrangement by which one person became the "man," or faithful and honorable dependent, of another. When, after the death of Charlemagne, men began to combine the idea of the *comitatus* with the idea of the *beneficium*, and to grant the usufruct of parcels of their land on condition that the grantee should be true, loyal, and helpful to them (that is, become their *vassal*), we may consider that the feudal system of landowning was coming into existence.

Feudalism was not established by any decree of a king or in virtue of any general agreement between all the landowners. It grew up gradually and irregularly without any conscious plan on anyone's part, simply because it seemed convenient and natural under the circumstances. The owner of vast estates found it to his advantage to parcel them out—along with the serfs attached to each manor—among vassals who agreed to accompany him to war, attend his court, guard his castle upon occasion, and assist him when he was put to any unusually great expense. Land granted upon the terms mentioned was said to be *infeudated* and was called a *fief*. One who held a fief might himself become a lord by granting a portion of his fief to a vassal upon terms similar to those upon which he held of his lord, or suzerain.[1] This was called *subinfeudation*, and the vassal of a vassal was called a *subvassal* or *subtenant*. There was still another way in which the number of vassals was

[1] "Lord" is *dominus* or *senior* in medieval Latin. From the latter word the French *seigneur* is derived. "Suzerain" is used to mean the direct lord and also an *overlord* separated by one or more degrees from a subvassal.

increased. The owners of small estates were usually in a defenseless condition, unable to protect themselves against the insolence of the great nobles. They consequently found it to their advantage to put their land into the hands of a neighboring lord and receive it back from him as a fief. They thus became his vassals and could call upon him for protection.

It is apparent from what has been said that all through the Middle Ages feudalism continued to grow, as it were, "from the top and bottom and in the middle all at once." (1) Great landowners carved out new fiefs from their domains and granted them to new vassals; (2) those who held small tracts brought them into the feudal relation by turning them over to a lord or monastery, whose vassals they became; (3) finally, any lord might subinfeudate portions of his estate by granting them as fiefs to those whose fidelity or services he wished to secure. By the thirteenth century it had become the rule in France that there should be "no land without its lord." This corresponded pretty closely to the conditions which existed at that period throughout the whole of western Europe.

It is essential to observe that the fief, unlike the *beneficium*, was not granted for a certain number of years, or for the life of the grantee, to revert at his death to the owner. On the contrary, it became hereditary in the family of the vassal and passed down to the eldest son from one generation to another. So long as the vassal remained faithful to his lord and performed the stipulated services, and his successors did homage and continued to meet the conditions upon which the fief had originally been granted, neither the lord nor his heirs could rightfully regain possession of the land. No precise date can be fixed at which it became customary to make fiefs *hereditary*; it is safe, however, to say that it was the rule in the tenth century.

The kings and great nobles perceived clearly enough the disadvantage of losing control of their lands by permitting them to become hereditary property in the families of their

vassals. But the feeling that what the father had enjoyed should pass to his children, who otherwise would ordinarily have been reduced to poverty, was so strong that all opposition on the part of the lord proved vain. The result was that little was left to the original and still nominal owner of the fief except the services and dues to which the practical owner, the vassal, had agreed in receiving it. In short, the fief came really to belong to the vassal, and only a shadow of his former proprietorship remained in the hands of the lord. Nowadays the owner of land either makes some use of it himself or leases it for a definite period at a fixed money rent, but in the Middle Ages most of the land was held by those who neither really owned it nor paid a regular rent for it and yet who could not be deprived of it by the nominal owner or his successors.

Obviously the great vassals who held directly of the king became almost independent of him as soon as their fiefs were granted to them in perpetuity. Their vassals, since they stood in no feudal relation to the king, escaped the royal control altogether. From the ninth to the thirteenth century the king of France or the king of Germany did not rule over a great realm occupied by subjects who owed him obedience as their lawful sovereign, paid him taxes, and were bound to fight under his banner as the head of the State. As a feudal landlord himself he had a right to demand fidelity and certain services from those who were his vassals; but the great mass of the people over whom he nominally ruled, whether they belonged to the nobility or not, owed little to the king directly, because they lived upon the lands of other feudal lords more or less independent of him.

Enough has been said of the gradual and irregular growth of feudalism to make it clear that complete uniformity in feudal customs could hardly exist within the bounds of even a small kingdom, much less throughout the countries of western Europe. Yet there was a remarkable resemblance between the institutions of France, England, and Germany, so that a de-

scription of the chief features of feudalism in France, where it was highly developed, will serve as a key to the general situation in all the countries we are studying.

The Relations of Lords and Vassals

The fief (Latin *feudum*) was the central institution of feudalism and the one from which it derives its name. In the commonest acceptance of the word the fief was land, the perpetual use of which was granted by its owner or holder to another person on condition that the one receiving it should become his vassal. The one proposing to become a vassal knelt before the lord and rendered him *homage*[1] by placing his hands between those of the lord and declaring himself the lord's "man" for such and such a fief. Thereupon the lord gave his vassal the kiss of peace and raised him from his kneeling posture. Then the vassal took the oath of fidelity upon the Bible or some holy relic, solemnly binding himself to fulfill all his duties toward his lord. This act of rendering homage by placing the hands in those of the lord and taking the oath of fidelity was the first and most essential obligation of the vassal and constituted the *feudal bond*. For a vassal to refuse to do homage for his fief when it changed hands was equivalent to a declaration of revolt and independence.

The obligations of the vassal varied greatly.[2] Sometimes

[1] "Homage" is derived from the Latin *homo*, "man."

[2] The conditions upon which fiefs were granted might be dictated either by interest or by mere fancy. Sometimes the most fantastic and seemingly absurd obligations were imposed. We hear of vassals holding on condition of attending the lord at supper with a tall candle, or furnishing him with a great yule log at Christmas. Perhaps the most extraordinary instance upon record is that of a lord in Guienne who solemnly declared upon oath, when questioned by the commissioners of Edward I, that he held his fief of the king upon the following terms: When the lord king came through his estate, he was to accompany him to a certain oak. There he must have waiting a cart loaded with wood and drawn by two cows without any tails. When the oak was reached, fire was to be applied to the cart and the whole burned up "unless mayhap the cows make their escape."

homage meant no more than that the vassal bound himself not to attack or injure his lord in honor or estate, or oppose his interests in any other manner. The vassal was expected to join his lord when a military expedition was undertaken, although it was generally the case that the vassal need not serve at his own expense for more than forty days. The rules, too, in regard to the length of time during which a vassal might be called upon to guard the castle of his lord varied almost infinitely. The shorter periods of military service proved very inconvenient to the lord. Consequently it became common in the thirteenth century for the king and the more important nobles to secure a body of soldiers upon whom they could rely at any time and for any length of time by creating *money* fiefs. A certain income was granted to a knight upon condition that the grantee should not only become a vassal of the lord but should also agree to fight for him whenever it was necessary.

Besides the military service due from the vassal to his lord, he was expected to attend the lord's court when summoned. There he sat with other vassals to hear and pronounce upon those cases in which his peers (that is, his fellow vassals) were involved.[1] Moreover, he had to give the lord the benefit of his counsel when required and attend him upon solemn occasions. Under certain circumstances vassals had to make money payments to their lord, as well as serve him in person; for instance, when the fief changed hands through the death of the lord or of the vassal, when the lord was put to extra expense by the necessity of knighting his eldest son or providing a dowry for his daughter, or when he was in captivity and was held for a ransom. Lastly, the vassal might have to entertain his lord should the lord come his way. There are amusingly detailed accounts in some of the feudal contracts of exactly how often

[1] The feudal courts, especially those of the great lords and of the king himself, were destined to develop later into the centers of real government, with regular judicial, financial, and administrative bodies for the performance of political functions.

the lord might honor his vassal with a visit, how many followers he might bring, and what he should have to eat.

There were fiefs of all kinds and of all grades of importance, from that of a duke or count, who held directly of the king and exercised the powers of a practically independent prince, down to the holding of the simple knight, whose bit of land, cultivated by peasants or serfs, was barely sufficient to enable him to support himself and provide the horse upon which he rode to perform his military service for his lord.

In order to rank as a noble in medieval society it was, in general, necessary to be the holder of land for which only such services were due as were considered *honorable*, and none of those which it was customary for the peasant or serf to perform. The noble must, moreover, be a free man and have at least sufficient income to maintain himself and his horse without any sort of labor. The nobles enjoyed certain privileges which set them off from the non-noble classes. Many of these privileges were perpetuated in France and elsewhere on the Continent down to the time of the French Revolution, and in Italy and Germany into the nineteenth century. The most conspicuous privilege was a partial exemption from taxation.

It is natural to wish to classify the nobility and to ask just what was the difference, for example, between a duke, a count, and a marquis. But there was no fixed classification, at least before the thirteenth century. A count, for instance, might be a very inconspicuous person, having a fief no larger than the county of Charlemagne's time, or he might possess a great many of the older counties and rank in power with a duke. In general, however, it may be said that the dukes, counts, bishops, and abbots who held directly from the king were of the highest rank. Next to them came an intermediate class of nobles of the second order, generally subvassals of the king, and below these the simple knights.

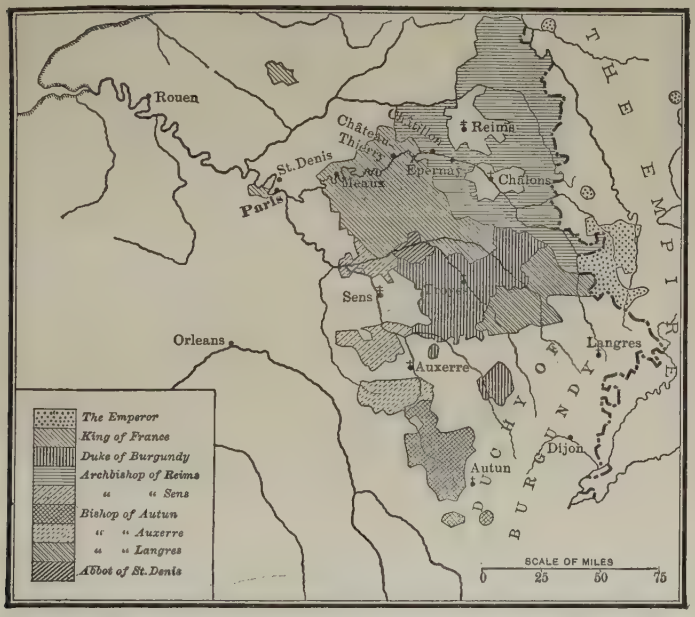
The great complexity of the feudal system of land tenure made it necessary for the feudal lords to keep careful registers

of their possessions. Very few of these registers have been preserved, but we are so fortunate as to have one of the count of Champagne, dating from the early thirteenth century. This gives us an idea of what feudalism really was in practice, and shows how impossible it is to make a satisfactory map of any country during the feudal period.

At the opening of the tenth century we find in the chronicles of the time an account of a certain ambitious count of Troyes, Robert by name, who died in 923 while trying to wrest the crown of France from Charles the Simple. His county passed to his son-in-law, who already held, among other possessions, the counties of Château-Thierry and Meaux. His son, in turn, inherited all three counties and increased his dominions by judicious usurpations. This process of gradual aggrandizement went on for generation after generation, until there came to be a compact district under the control of the counts of Champagne, as they began to call themselves at the opening of the twelfth century. It was in this way that the feudal states in France and Germany grew up. Certain lines of feudal lords showed themselves able, partly by craft and violence and partly, doubtless, by good fortune, to piece together a considerable district, in much the same way as we shall find that the king of France later pieced together France itself.

The register referred to above shows that the feudal possessions of the counts of Champagne were divided into twenty-six districts, each of which centered about a strong castle. We may infer that these divisions bore some close relation to the original counties which the counts of Champagne had succeeded in bringing together. All these districts were held as fiefs of other lords. For the greater number of his fiefs the count rendered homage to the king of France, but he was the vassal of no less than nine other lords besides the king. A portion of his lands, including probably his chief town of Troyes, he held of the duke of Burgundy. Châtillon, Épernay, and some other towns he held as the "man" of the archbishop of

Reims. He was also the vassal of the archbishop of Sens, of four other neighboring bishops, and of the abbot of the great monastery of St. Denis. To all these persons he had pledged himself to be faithful and true; and when his various lords fell out with one another, it must have been difficult to see where



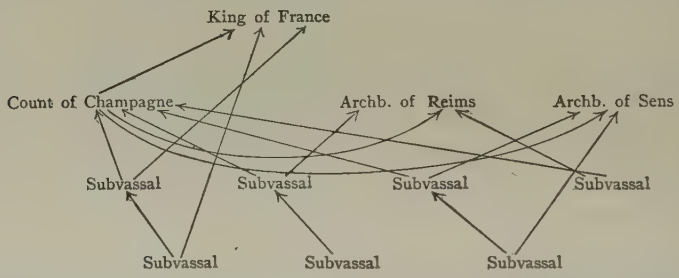
FIEFS AND SUZERAINS OF THE COUNTS OF CHAMPAGNE

his duty lay. Yet his situation was similar to that of all important feudal lords who had large holdings of varied origin.

The chief object, however, of the register was to show not what the count owed to others but what his own numerous vassals owed to him. It appears that he subinfeudated his lands and his various sources of income to no less than two thousand vassal knights. The purpose of the register is to record the terms upon which each of these knights held his fief. Some simply rendered the count homage; some agreed to serve him

in war for a certain length of time each year, others to guard his castle for specified periods. A considerable number of the vassals of the count held lands of other lords, there being nothing to prevent a subvassal from accepting a fief directly from the king or from any other neighboring noble landholder. So it happened that several of the vassals of the counts of Champagne held of the same persons of whom the count himself held.

It is evident that the counts of Champagne were not contented with the number of vassals that they secured by subinfeudating their land. The same homage might be rendered



THE ARROW INDICATES A LORD OF WHOM THE VASSAL HELD ONE OR MORE FIEFS

for a fixed income, or for a certain number of bushels of oats to be delivered each year by the lord, as for the use of land. So money, houses, wheat, oats, wine, chickens, were infeudated, and even half the bees which might be found in a particular forest. It would seem to us the simpler way to have hired soldiers outright, but in the thirteenth century the traditions of feudalism were so strong that it appeared natural to make vassals of those whose aid was desired. The mere promise of a money payment would not have been considered sufficiently binding. The feudal bond of homage served to make the contract firmer than it would otherwise have been.

It is clear, then, that no such regular hierarchy existed as some historians have imagined, beginning with the king and ending

with the humblest knight included in the feudal aristocracy. The fact that vassals often held of a number of different lords made the feudal relations infinitely complex. The accompanying diagram, while it may not exactly correspond to the situation at any given moment, will serve to illustrate this complexity.

War the Chief Occupation of the Feudal Lords

Should one confine one's studies of feudalism to the rules laid down by later feudal lawyers and to the careful descriptions of the exact duties of the vassal which are to be found in the contracts of the period, one might conclude that everything had been so minutely and rigorously fixed as to render the feudal bond sufficient to maintain order and liberty. But one has only to read a chronicle of the time to discover that in reality brute force governed almost everything outside the Church. The feudal obligations were not fulfilled except when the lord was sufficiently powerful to enforce them. The bond of vassalage and fidelity, which was the sole principle of order, was constantly broken, and faith was violated by both vassal and lord.[1]

It often happened that a vassal was discontented with his lord and transferred his allegiance to another. This he had a right to do under certain circumstances; for instance, when his lord refused to see that justice was done him in his court. But such changes were generally made merely for the sake of the advantages which the faithless vassal hoped to gain. The records of the time are full of accounts of refusal to do homage, which was the commonest way in which the feudal bond was broken. So soon as a vassal felt himself strong enough to face his lord's displeasure, or realized that the lord was a helpless child, he was apt to declare his independence by refusing to recognize the feudal superiority of the one from whom he had received his land.

[1] The following description of the anarchy of feudalism merely condenses Luchaire's admirable chapter on the subject in his *Manuel des Institutions Françaises*. The *Readings*, chaps. x, xii, xiii, xiv, furnish many examples of disorder.

We may say that war in all its forms was the law of the feudal world. War formed the chief occupation of the restless aristocracy who held the land and exercised the governmental control. The inveterate habits of a military race, the discord provoked by ill-defined rights or by self-interest and covetousness, all led to constant bloody struggles in which each lord had for his enemies all those about him. An enterprising vassal was likely to make war at least once, first, upon each of his several lords; secondly, upon the bishops and abbots with whom he was brought into contact, and whose control he particularly disliked; thirdly, upon his fellow vassals; and, lastly, upon his own vassals. The feudal bonds, instead of offering a guaranty of peace and concord, appear to have been a constant cause of violent conflict. Everyone was bent upon profiting by the permanent or temporary weakness of his neighbor. This chronic dissension extended even to members of the same family: the son, anxious to enjoy a part of his heritage immediately, warred against his father, younger brothers against older, and nephews against uncles who might seek to deprive them of their rights.

In theory, the lord could force his vassals to settle their disputes in an orderly and righteous manner before his court; but often he was neither able nor inclined to bring about a peaceful adjustment, and he would frequently have found it embarrassing to enforce the decisions of his own court. So the vassals were left to fight out their quarrels among themselves and found their chief interest in life in so doing. War was practically sanctioned by law. The great French code of laws of the thirteenth century, and the Golden Bull, a most important body of law drawn up for Germany in 1356, did not prohibit neighborhood war but merely provided that it should be conducted in a decent and gentlemanly way.

The jousts, or tourneys, were military exercises—play wars[1]—to fill out the tiresome periods which occasionally inter-

[1] The gorgeous affairs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were but weak and effeminate counterparts of the rude and hazardous encounters of the thirteenth.

vened between real wars. They were, in fact, diminutive battles in which whole troops of hostile nobles sometimes took part. These rough plays called down the condemnation of the popes and councils, and even of the kings. The latter, however, were too fond of the sport themselves not to forget promptly their own prohibitions.

The disastrous nature of the perpetual feudal warfare and the necessity of some degree of peace and order had already become apparent even as early as the eleventh century. In spite of all the turmoil mankind was making progress. Commerce and enlightenment were increasing in the older towns and preparing the way for the development of new ones. Those engaged in peaceful pursuits could not but find the prevailing disorder intolerable. The Church was untiring, as it was fitting that it should be, in its efforts to secure peace; and nothing redounds more to the honor of the bishops than the "Truce of God." This prohibited all hostilities from Thursday night until Monday morning, as well as upon all the numerous fast days.[1] The Church councils and the bishops required the feudal lords to take an oath to observe the weekly truce, and, by means of the dreaded penalty of excommunication, met with some success. With the opening of the Crusades, in 1096, the popes undertook to effect a general pacification by diverting the prevailing warlike spirit against the Turks.

At the same time the king (in France and England at least) was becoming a power that made for order in the modern sense of the word. He endeavored to prevent the customary resort to arms to settle every sort of difficulty between rival vassals. But even St. Louis (d. 1270), who made the greatest efforts to secure peace, did not succeed in accomplishing his end. The gradual bettering of conditions was due chiefly to general progress and to the development of commerce and industry, which made the bellicose aristocracy more and more intolerable.

[1] See the famous "Truce of God" issued by the archbishop of Cologne in 1083, in *Readings*, chap. ix.

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The French Kings and their Vassals

There is no more important phase of medieval history than the gradual emergence of the modern national state from the feudal anarchy into which the great empire of Charlemagne fell during the century after his death. No one should flatter himself that he has grasped the elements of the history of western Europe unless he can trace in a clear, if general, way the various stages by which the states which appear now upon the map of Europe—the French and German republics and the kingdoms of Italy, Great Britain, and Spain—have grown out of the disorganized Europe of the ninth century.

It might be inferred from what has been said in the preceding chapters that the political history of western Europe during the two or three centuries following the deposition of Charles the Fat (887) was really only the history of innumerable feudal lords. Yet even if the kings of medieval Europe were sometimes less powerful than some of their mighty subjects, still their history is more important than that of their vassals. It was the kings, and not their rivals the dukes and counts, who were to win in the long run and to establish national governments in the modern sense of the term. It was about them that all the great European states grew up.

For four centuries, from the Norman invasion of England to the end of the Hundred Years' War, the history of France and that of England were intermeshed; so that it may be well to review the development of these two monarchies together, in spite of the fact that they diverged in many ways and offer

many salient contrasts at the present day. The historical writer is often puzzled as to the most expedient manner in which to arrange his story. He turns the facts over, shifts them here and there, with the hope of getting some pattern that will make the great issues stand out most clearly and not confuse and bore the reader; for a bored reader never gets much out of any narrative.

Both England and France were to become highly important influences in developing the culture of western Europe; and the object of this chapter, which may seem somewhat dreary and futile, is to review the manner in which the monarchy of Charles the Fat became that of Louis XI, and that of Alfred the Great the England of Henry VII, and how meantime the great question had to be settled, whether the English kingdom should include great areas across the Channel, with an alien language and widely different customs. Some of the facts and events given in this chapter are not meant to be remembered, but are cited with the object of giving a general idea of the problem of the English and French kings in producing fairly shipshape monarchies out of the feudal anarchy of the ninth century. We shall first turn to France and follow the struggle of its monarchs against feudalism down to the opening of their long conflict with the English kings.

As we have seen, in 888 the aristocracy of the northern part of the West Frankish kingdom chose as their king, in place of the highly disappointing Charles the Fat, the valiant Odo, count of Paris, Blois, and Orleans. The nobles who chose him had no idea, however, of permitting him or his successors to interfere with their independence; and for a century there were many supporters to be found for the feeble descendants of Charlemagne, who continued to be set up as rivals of Count Odo's line.

In 987, which is reckoned a decisive date in French history, Hugh Capet was elected king of the Gauls, Bretons, Normans, Aquitanians, Goths, Gascons, and Spaniards. This was an un-

conscious prophecy of the ultimate union of all these peoples —except the Spaniards, who did not get included in modern France. For the time being the French king's claim on these regions, which were finally to be welded into the French Republic of today, was an aspiration rather than a reality.

Hugh inherited from his ancestors the title of "Duke of France," which they had enjoyed as the military representatives of the later Carolingian kings in "France," originally a district north of the Seine. Gradually the name "France" came to be applied to all the dominions which the dukes of France ruled as kings. We shall hereafter speak of the West Frankish kingdom as France.

It must not be forgotten, however, that it required more than two centuries after Hugh's accession for the French kings to create a real kingdom which should include even half the territory embraced in the France of today. For almost two hundred years the Capetians made little or no progress toward real kingly power. In fact, matters went from bad to worse. Even the region which they were supposed to control as counts —their so-called *domain*—melted away in their hands. Everywhere hereditary lines of usurping rulers sprang up whom it was impossible to exterminate after they had once taken root. The Capetian territory bristled with hostile castles,—permanent obstacles to commerce between the larger towns and intolerable plagues to the country people. In short, the king of France, in spite of the dignity of his title, no longer dared to move about his own narrow domain. He to whom the most powerful lords owed homage could not venture out of Paris without encountering fortresses constructed by noble brigands, who were the terror alike of priest, merchant, and laborer. Without money or soldiers, royalty vegetated within its diminished patrimony. It retained a certain prestige in distant fiefs situated on the confines of the realm and in foreign lands, but at home it was neither obeyed nor respected.[1]

[1] See *Readings*, chap. x.

The tenth century was the period when the great fiefs of Normandy, Brittany, Flanders, and Burgundy took form. These, and the fiefs into which the older duchy of Aquitaine fell, developed into little nations, each under its line of able rulers.[1] Each had its own particular customs and culture, some traces of which may still be noted by the traveler in France. These little feudal states were created by certain families of nobles who possessed exceptional energy or statesmanship. By conquest, purchase, or marriage they increased the number of their fiefs. By promptly destroying the castles of those who refused to meet their obligations, they secured control over their vassals. By granting fiefs of land or money to subvassals they gained new dependents.

Of these subnations none was more important or interesting than Normandy. The Northmen had been the scourge of those who lived near the North Sea for many years before one of their leaders, Rollo (or Hrolf), agreed to accept from Charles the Simple (in 911) a district on the coast, north of Brittany, where he and his followers might peacefully settle. Rollo assumed the title of "Duke of the Normans" and introduced the Christian religion among his people. For a considerable time the newcomers kept up their Scandinavian traditions and language. Gradually, however, they appropriated such culture as their neighbors possessed, and by the twelfth century their capital, Rouen, was one of the most enlightened cities of Europe. Normandy became a source of infinite perplexity to the French kings when, in 1066, Duke William added England to his possessions. He thereby became so powerful that his suzerain could hardly hope to control the Norman dukes any longer.

The isolated peninsula of Brittany, inhabited by a Celtic people of the same race as the early inhabitants of Britain, had been particularly subject to the attacks of the Scandinavian pirates. It seemed at one time as if the district would become

[1] Compare map, p. 159.

an appendage of Normandy. But in 938 a certain valiant Alain of the Twisted Beard arose to deliver it from the oppression of the strangers. The Normans were driven out, and feudalism replaced the older tribal organization in what was hereafter to be called the duchy of Brittany. It was not until the opening of the sixteenth century that this region became a part of the French monarchy.

The pressure of the Northmen had an important result in the flat, low district between the Somme and the Scheldt. The inhabitants were driven to repair and seek shelter in the old Roman fortifications. They thus became accustomed to living in close community, and it was in this way that the Flemish towns—Ghent, Bruges, etc.—originated, which became in time famous centers of industry and trade. This was the beginning of thickly populated and industrious modern Belgium.

The ancient duchy of Aquitaine (later Guienne), including a large part of what is now central and southern France, was abolished in 877; but the title of "Duke of Aquitaine" was conferred by the king upon a certain family of feudal lords, who gradually extended their power over Gascony and northward. To the southeast the counts of Toulouse had begun to consolidate a little state which was to be the seat of the extraordinary literature of the troubadours.

The position of the Capetian rulers was a complicated one. As counts of Paris, Orleans, etc. they enjoyed the ordinary rights of a feudal lord; as dukes of France they might exercise a vague control over the district north of the Seine; as suzerains of the great feudal princes (the duke of Normandy, the counts of Flanders, Champagne, and the rest) they might require homage and certain feudal services from these great personages. But besides all these rights as feudal lords they had other rights as kings. They were crowned and consecrated by the Church, as Pippin and Charlemagne had been. They thus became, by God's appointment, the protectors of the Church and the true fountain of justice for all who were oppressed or

in distress throughout their realms. Therefore they were on a higher plane in the eyes of the people than any of the great vassals. Besides the homage of their vassals they exacted an oath of fidelity from all whom they could reach.

The great vassals, on the other hand, acted on the theory that the king was simply their feudal lord. As for the king himself, he accepted both views of his position and made use both of the older theory of kingship and of his feudal suzerainty to secure greater and greater control over his realms. For over three hundred years the direct male line of the Capetians never once failed. It rarely happened, moreover, that the crown was left in the weak hands of a child. By the opening of the fourteenth century there was no doubt that the king, and not the feudal lords, was destined to prevail.

The first of the kings of France to undertake with success the serious task of conquering his own duchy was Louis the Fat (1108–1137). He was an active soldier and strove to keep free the means of communication between the different centers of his somewhat scattered feudal domains and to destroy the power of the usurping castellans in his fortresses. But he made only a beginning; it was reserved for his famous grandson, Philip Augustus (1180–1223), to make the duchy of France into a real kingdom.

Philip had a far more difficult problem to face than any of the preceding kings of his house. Before his accession a series of those royal marriages which until recently exercised so great an influence upon political history had brought most of the great fiefs of central, western, and southern France into the hands of the king of England, Henry II. In order to see how this came about we have now to cross the English Channel and see what had been the fate of the British Isles since they were conquered by the Angles and Saxons and Christianized by the missionaries sent out by Gregory the Great (see pages 77 ff.).

England before the Norman Conquest

The country of western Europe whose history is of greatest interest to English-speaking peoples is, of course, England. From England the United States and the vast English colonies have inherited their language and habits of thought, much of their literature, and many peculiarities of their laws and institutions. In this volume it will not, however, be possible to study England in greater detail than other western European countries but mainly as it has played a part in the general development of Europe. This it has greatly influenced by its commerce, industry, and colonies, as well as by the example it has set of permitting the people to participate with the king in the government.

The several kingdoms founded by the German invaders were brought under the overlordship of the southern kingdom of Wessex[1] by Egbert, a contemporary of Charlemagne. But no sooner had the long-continued invasions of the Germans come to an end and the country been partially unified than the Northmen (or Danes, as the English called them), who were ravaging France, began to make incursions into England. Before long they had made permanent settlements and conquered a large district north of the Thames. They were defeated, however, in an important battle by Alfred the Great (871–901), the first English king of whom we have any satisfactory knowledge. He forced the Danes to accept Christianity and established, as the boundary between them and his kingdom of Wessex, a line running from London across the island to Chester.

Alfred was as much interested in education as Charlemagne had been. He called in learned monks from the continent and from Wales as teachers of the young men. He desired that all those born free, who had the means, should be forced to learn English thoroughly, and that those who proposed to enter the

[1] In spite of the final supremacy of the *West Saxons* of Wessex, the whole land took its name from the more numerous *Angles*.

priesthood should learn Latin as well. He himself translated Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* and other works from the Latin into English, and doubtless encouraged the composition of the famous *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the first history written in a modern language.[1]

The formation of the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway at the end of the ninth century caused many discontented Scandinavian chieftains to go in search of adventure, so that the Danish invasions continued for more than a century after Alfred's death (901), and we hear much of the Danegeld, a tax levied to buy off the invaders when necessary. Finally, in 1017, a Danish king (Cnut) succeeded in making himself king of England. The Danish dynasty maintained itself only for a few years. Then a last weak Saxon king, Edward the Confessor, held nominal sway for a score of years. Upon his death in 1066, William, Duke of Normandy, claimed the crown and became king of England. The Norman Conquest closes what is called the Saxon period of English history, during which the English nation may be said to have taken form. Before considering the achievements of William the Conqueror we must glance at the condition of England as he found it.

The map of Great Britain at the accession of William the Conqueror has the same three great divisions which exist today. The little kingdoms had disappeared and England extended north to the Tweed, which separated it, as it still does, from the kingdom of Scotland. On the west was Wales, inhabited then, as now, by descendants of the native Britons, of whom only a small remnant had survived the German invasions. The Danes had been absorbed into the mass of the population, and all England recognized a single king. The king's power had increased as time went on, although he was bound to act in important matters only with the consent of a council (*witenagemot*) made up of high royal officials, bishops,

[1] Extracts from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* may be found in *Readings*, chap. xi.

and nobles. The kingdom was divided into shires,[1] as it still is, and each of these had a local assembly, a sort of parliament for the dispatch of local matters.

After the victory of the papal party at the Council of Whitby[2] the Church had been thoroughly organized, and the intercourse of the clergy with the Continent served, as we have seen, to keep England from becoming completely isolated. Although the island was much behind some other portions of Europe in civilization, the English had succeeded in laying the foundations for the development of a great nation and an admirable form of government.

England was not, however, to escape feudalism. The Normans naturally brought with them their own feudal institutions, but even before their coming many suggestions of feudalism might have been discovered. Groups of shires had been placed under the government of *earls*, who became dangerous rivals of the kings; and the habit of giving churchmen the right to govern, to a large extent, those who lived upon their vast estates recalls the conditions in the Frankish empire during the same period. The great landed proprietor in England exercised much the same powers over those about him that the feudal lords enjoyed upon the other side of the Channel.

The Norman Conquest of England

As has been said, William of Normandy claimed that he was entitled to the English crown; he even assumed that all who refused to acknowledge him in England were traitors. We are, however, somewhat in the dark as to the basis of his claim. There is a story that he had visited the court of Edward the Confessor and had become his vassal on condition that, should Edward die childless, he was to designate William as his suc-

[1] The shires go back at least as far as Alfred the Great, and many of their names indicate that they had some relation to the earlier small kingdoms; for example, Sussex, Essex, Kent, Northumberland.

[2] See page 80.

cessor. But Harold, earl of Wessex, who had consolidated his power before the death of Edward by securing the appointment of his brothers to three of the other great earldoms, assumed the crown and paid no attention to William's demand that he should surrender it. Harold, moreover, had offended the Pope by dismissing the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom the Pope supported.

William thereupon appealed to the Pope, promising that if he came into possession of England he would see that the English clergy submitted to the authority of the Roman bishop. Consequently the Pope, Alexander II, condemned Harold and blessed in advance any expedition that William might undertake to assert his rights. The conquest of England therefore took on somewhat the character of a holy war; and as the expedition had been well advertised, many adventurers flocked to William's standard. The Norman cavalry and archers proved superior to the English forces, who were on foot and were so armed that they could not fight to advantage except at close range. Harold was killed in the memorable battle of Hastings and his army defeated. In a few weeks a number of influential nobles and several bishops agreed to accept William as their king, and London opened its gates to him. He was crowned on Christmas Day, 1066, at Westminster.

We cannot trace the history of the opposition and the revolts of the great nobles which William had to meet within the next few years. His position was rendered doubly difficult by troubles which he encountered on the continent as duke of Normandy. Suffice it to say that he succeeded in maintaining himself against all his enemies.

William's policy in regard to England exhibited profound statesmanship. He introduced the Norman feudalism to which he was accustomed, but took good care that it should not weaken his power. The English who had refused to join him before the battle of Hastings were declared traitors, but were permitted to keep their lands upon condition of receiving them

from the king as his vassals. The lands of those who actually bore arms against him at Hastings or in later rebellions, including the great estates of Harold's family, were confiscated and distributed among his faithful followers, both Norman and English, though naturally the Normans among them far outnumbered the English.

William declared that he did not propose to change the English customs, but to govern as Edward the Confessor (the last Saxon king whom he acknowledged) had done. He tried to learn English, maintained the witenagemot, and observed English practices. But he was a man of too much force to submit to the control of his people. While he appointed counts, or earls, in some of the shires (now come to be called *counties*), he controlled them by means of other royal officers called *sheriffs*. He avoided giving to any one person a great many estates in a single region, so that no one should become inconveniently powerful. Finally, in order to secure the support of the smaller landholders and to prevent combinations against him among the greater ones, he required every landholder in England to take an oath of fidelity directly to him. We read in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1086) that "on the first day of August he came to Salisbury, and there came to him his wise men [that is, counselors], and all the land-owning men of property there were over all England, whosesoever men they were; and all bowed down to him and became his men, and swore oaths of fealty to him that they would be faithful to him against all other men."

William's anxiety to have a complete knowledge of his whole kingdom is indicated by a remarkable historical document, the so-called *Domesday Book*. This is a register of the lands throughout England, indicating the value of each parcel, the serfs and stock upon it, and the name of its holder and of the person who held it before the Conquest. This government report contained a vast amount of information which was likely to prove useful to William's taxgatherers. It is still valuable

to the historian, although unfortunately he is not able in every case to interpret its terms satisfactorily.

William's policy in regard to the Church indicates a desire to advance its interests in conjunction with his own. He called Lanfranc, an Italian who had been at the head of the famous monastery of Bec in Normandy, to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The king permitted the clergy to manage their own affairs and established bishops' courts to try a variety of cases. But homage was exacted from a bishop as from a lay vassal. William refused, however, in spite of his earlier pledges, to permit the Pope to interfere in English affairs without his permission in each particular case. No papal legate was to enter the land without the king's sanction. No papal decree should be received in the English Church without his consent, nor his servants be excommunicated against his will. When Gregory VII (see page 195) demanded that he should become his vassal for the land that he had conquered under the papal auspices, William promptly refused.

It is clear that the Norman Conquest was not a simple change of dynasty. A new element was added to the English people. We cannot tell how many Normans actually emigrated across the Channel, but they evidently came in considerable numbers, and their influence upon the English court and government was very great. A century after William's arrival the whole body of the nobility, the bishops, the abbots, and the government officials had become practically all Norman.

Besides these, the architects and artisans who built the castles and fortresses, and the cathedrals, abbeys, and parish churches, whose erection throughout the land was such a marked characteristic of the period, were immigrants from Normandy. Merchants from the Norman cities of Rouen and Caen came to settle in London and other English cities, and weavers from Flanders were settled in various towns and even rural districts. For a short time these newcomers remained a separate people, but before the twelfth century was over they had become for the most part indistinguishable from the great

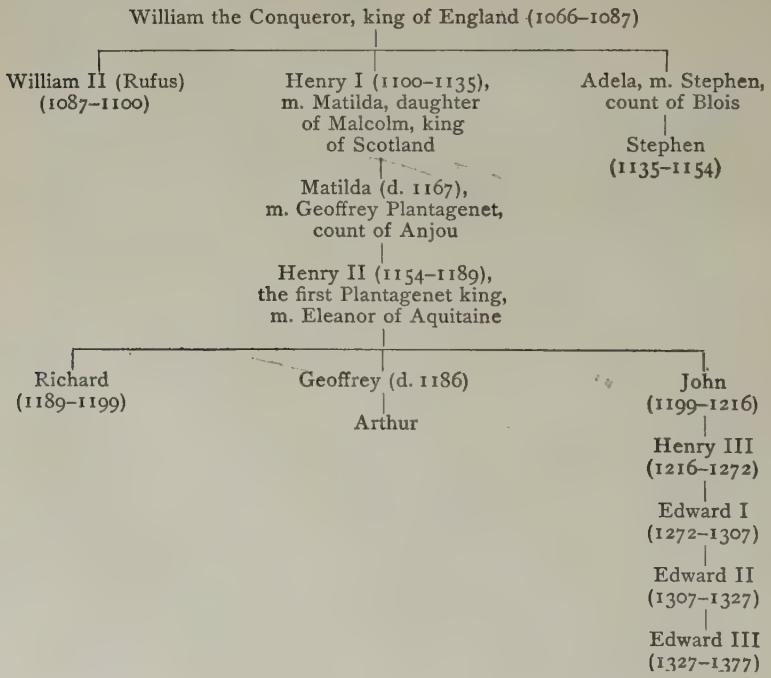
mass of English people amongst whom they had come. They had nevertheless made that people stronger, more vigorous, more active-minded, and more varied in their occupations and interests.[1]

The Plantagenets

The Conqueror was followed by his sons, William Rufus and Henry I.[2] Upon the death of the latter the country went through a terrible period of civil war, for some of the nobility supported the Conqueror's grandson Stephen, and some his granddaughter Matilda. After the death of Stephen, in 1154, Matilda's son, Henry II, was finally recognized by all as king. He found the kingdom in a melancholy state. The nobles had taken advantage of the prevalent disorder to erect

[1] Cheyney, *Social and Industrial History of England*, pp. 15–16.

[2] The line of descent was as follows:


William the Conqueror, king of England (1066–1087)
William II (Rufus) (1087–1100)
Henry I (1100–1135), m. Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland
Adela, m. Stephen, count of Blois
Stephen (1135–1154)
Matilda (d. 1167), m. Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou
Henry II (1154–1189), the first Plantagenet king, m. Eleanor of Aquitaine
Richard (1189–1199)
Geoffrey (d. 1186)
Arthur
John (1199–1216)
Henry III (1216–1272)
Edward I (1272–1307)
Edward II (1307–1327)
Edward III (1327–1377)

castles without royal permission and establish themselves as independent rulers. Mercenaries had been called in from the Continent by the rivals for the throne and had become a national plague.

Henry at once adopted vigorous measures. He destroyed the illegally erected fortresses, sent off the mercenaries, and deprived of their titles many earls who had been created by Stephen and Matilda. Henry II's task was a difficult one. He had need of all his indefatigable energy and quickness of mind to restore order in England and at the same time to rule the wide realms on the Continent which he had either inherited or gained through his marriage with the heiress of the dukes of Guienne (see page 155). Although he spent the greater part of his reign across the Channel, he still found time to be one of the greatest of all England's rulers.

In order that he might maintain his prerogatives as judge of disputes among his subjects, and avoid all excuse for the private warfare which was such a persistent evil on the Continent, he undertook to improve and reform the system of royal courts. He arranged that his judges should make regular circuits throughout the country, so that they might try cases on the spot at least once a year. He established the famous Court of King's Bench to try all other cases which came under the king's jurisdiction. This was composed of five judges from his council, two clergymen, and three laymen. We find, too, the beginning of our grand jury in a body of men in each neighborhood who were to be duly sworn in, from time to time, and should then bring accusations against such malefactors as had come to their knowledge.

As for the petty, or smaller, jury, which actually tried the accused, its origin and history are obscure. It did not originate with Henry II, but he systematized trial by jury and made it a settled law of the land instead of an exceptional favor. The plan of delegating the duty of determining the guilt or innocence of a suspected person to a dozen members of the

community, who were sworn to form their opinions without partiality, was very different from the earlier systems. It resembled neither the Roman trial, where the judges made the decision, nor the medieval compurgation and ordeals, where God was supposed to pronounce the verdict.[1] In all legal matters the decisions of Henry's judges were so sagacious and consistent that they became the basis of the *common law* which is still used in all English-speaking countries.

Henry's reign was embittered by the famous struggle with Thomas Becket, which illustrates admirably the peculiar dependence of the monarchs of his day upon the churchmen. Becket was born in London. He early entered one of the lower orders of the Church, but grew up in the service of the crown and was able to aid Henry in gaining the throne. Thereupon the new king made him his chancellor. Becket proved an excellent minister and defended the king's interest even against the Church, of which he was also an officer. He was fond of hunting and of warlike enterprises and maintained a brilliant court from the revenues of the numerous Church benefices which he held. It appeared to Henry that there could be no better head for the English clergy than his sagacious and worldly chancellor. He therefore determined to make him Archbishop of Canterbury. The kings of that time often chose their most efficient officers from among the prelates. Lanfranc, for example, had been the Conqueror's chief minister. There were several good reasons for this practice. The clergy were not only far better educated than laymen, but they were also not ordinarily dangerous as military leaders, nor could their offices become hereditary.

In appointing Becket as Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry intended with Becket's aid to insure his own complete control of the Church. He proposed to bring clerical criminals before the royal courts and punish them like other offenders, to make the bishops meet all the feudal obligations, and to prevent

[1] See page 53.

appeals to the Pope. Becket, however, immediately resigned his chancellorship, gave up his gay life, and opposed every effort of the king to reduce the independence of the Church. After a haughty assertion of the supremacy of the spiritual power over the secular government, Thomas fled from the wrathful and disappointed monarch to France and the protection of the Pope.

In spite of a patched-up reconciliation with the king, Becket proceeded to excommunicate or suspend some of the great English prelates, and Henry believed he was conspiring to rob his heir of the crown. Finally, in a fit of anger Henry exclaimed among his followers, "Is there no one to avenge me of this miserable ecclesiastic?" Unfortunately certain knights took the rash expression literally, and Becket was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral, whither he had returned. The king had really had no wish to resort to violence, and his sorrow and remorse when he heard of the dreadful deed, and his terror at the consequences, were most genuine. The Pope proposed to excommunicate the king. Henry, however, made peace with the papal legates by solemnly asserting that he had never wished the death of Thomas and by promising to return to Canterbury all the property which he had confiscated, to send money to aid in the capture of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, and to undertake a crusade himself.

Henry II was the son of William the Conqueror's granddaughter Matilda, who had married one of the great vassals of the French kings,—the count of Anjou and Maine.[1] Henry therefore inherited through his mother all the possessions of the Norman kings of England (namely, England, the duchy of Normandy, and the suzerainty over Brittany), and through his father the counties of Maine and Anjou. Lastly, through his own marriage with Eleanor, the heiress of the dukes of Guienne (as Aquitaine was now called), he possessed himself of nearly all of southern France, including Poitou and Gascony.

[1] See table, p. 152.

In spite of his great importance in English history Henry was as much French as English, both by birth and by sympathies, and gave more than half his time and attention to his French possessions.

It thus came about that the king of France, Philip Augustus, suddenly found a hostile state, under an able and energetic ruler, erected upon his western borders. It included more than half the territory in which he was recognized as king. The chief business of Philip's life was an incessant war upon the Plantagenets,[1] in which he was constantly aided by the strife among his enemies themselves. Henry II divided his French possessions among his three sons, Geoffrey, Richard, and John, delegating to them such government as existed. Philip took advantage of the constant quarrels of the brothers among themselves and with their father. He espoused, in turn, the cause of Richard the Lion-Hearted against his father; of John Lackland, the youngest brother, against Richard; and so on. Without these family discords the powerful monarchy of the Plantagenets might have annihilated the royal house of France, whose narrow dominions it closed in and threatened on all sides.

So long as Henry II lived there was little chance of expelling the Plantagenets or of greatly curtailing their power; but with the accession of his reckless son, Richard I,[2] the prospects of the French king brightened wonderfully. Richard left his kingdom to take care of itself while he went upon a crusade to the Holy Land. He persuaded Philip to join him; but Richard was too overbearing and masterful, and Philip too ambitious, to make it possible for them to agree long. The king of France, who was physically delicate, was taken ill and was glad of the excuse to return home and brew trouble for his powerful vassal. When Richard himself returned, after several years of

[1] Henry's family owes the name "Plantagenet" to the habit that his father, Geoffrey of Anjou, had of wearing a bit of broom (*planta genista*) in his helmet on his crusading expeditions.

[2] Geoffrey, the eldest of the three sons of Henry II, died before his father.

THE PLANTAGENET POSSESSIONS IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

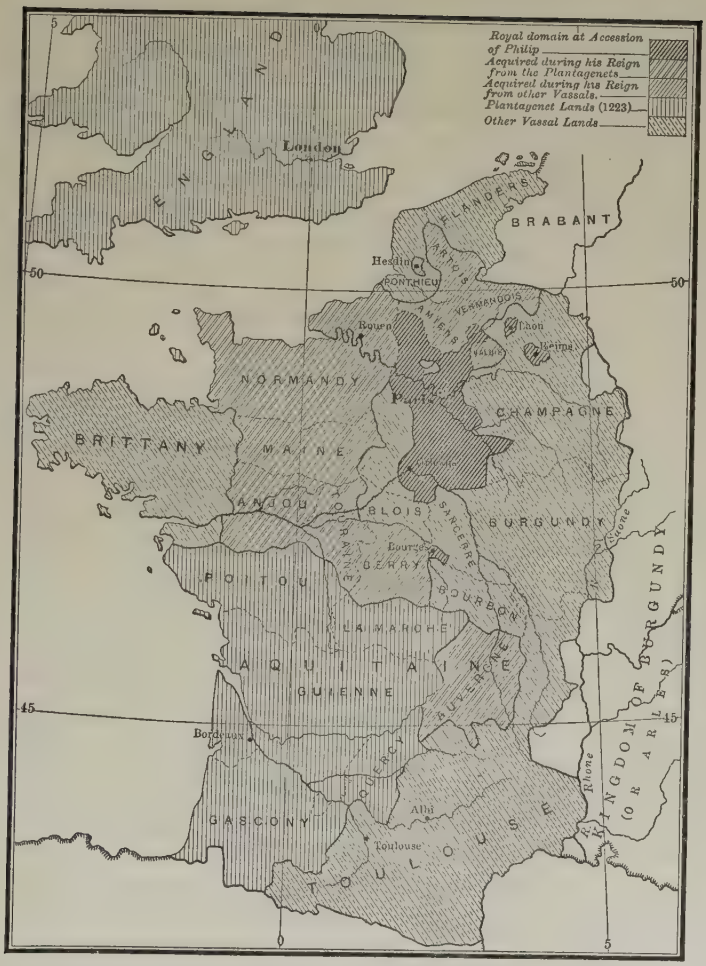
romantic but fruitless adventure (pp. 208 and 224), he found himself involved in a war with Philip, during which he died.

Richard's younger brother, John, who enjoys the reputation of being the most despicable of English kings, speedily gave Philip a good excuse for seizing a great part of the Plantagenet lands. John was suspected of conniving at the brutal murder of his nephew Arthur (the son of Geoffrey), to whom the nobles of Maine, Anjou, and Touraine had done homage. He was also guilty of carrying off and marrying a lady betrothed to one of his own vassals. Philip, as John's suzerain, summoned him to appear at the French court to answer the latter charge. Upon John's refusal to appear or to do homage for his continental possessions, Philip caused his court to issue a decree confiscating almost all the Plantagenet lands, leaving to the English king only the southwest corner of France.

Philip found little difficulty in possessing himself not only of the valley of the Loire but of Normandy itself, which showed no disinclination to accept him in place of the Plantagenets, whom the Normans associated with continual exactions. Six years after Richard's death (1205) the English kings had lost all their continental fiefs except Guienne. It should be observed that Philip, unlike his ancestors, was no longer merely *suzerain* of the new conquests but was himself duke of Normandy and count of Anjou, of Maine, etc. His "domain" (that is, the lands which he himself controlled directly as feudal lord) now extended to the sea and was the chief among the great feudal states of France. In short, the king had finally become the greatest French feudal lord.

Progress of the French Kingdom

Philip not only greatly increased the extent of the royal domain but strengthened his control over all classes of his subjects as well. He appears, also, to have fully realized the significance of the towns, which had begun to develop a century



MAP OF FRANCE AT THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS

earlier. There were several important ones in the districts he annexed, and these he took especial pains to treat with consideration. He extended his protection, and at the same time his authority, over them and in this way lessened the influence and resources of the feudal lords within whose territories the towns lay.

The chief innovation of Philip's son, Louis VIII, was the creation of *appanages*. These were fiefs assigned to his younger sons, one of whom was made count of Artois; another, count of Anjou and Maine; a third, count of Auvergne. This has generally been regarded by historians as a most unfortunate reënforcement of the feudal idea. It not only retarded the consolidation of the kingdom but opened the way to new strife between the members of the royal family itself.

The long reign of Philip's grandson, Louis IX, or St. Louis (1226–1270), is extremely interesting from many standpoints. St. Louis himself is perhaps the most heroic and popular figure in the whole procession of French monarchs, and his virtues and exploits have been far more amply recorded than those of any of his predecessors. But it is only his part in the consolidation of the French monarchy that immediately concerns us. After a revolt of the barons of central France in alliance with the king of England, which Louis easily put down, he proceeded, in a most fair-minded and Christian spirit, to arrange a definite settlement with the Plantagenets. The king of England was to do him homage for the duchies of Guienne, Gascony, and Poitou and surrender every claim upon the rest of the former possessions of the Plantagenets on the Continent.

Besides these important territorial adjustments, Louis IX did much to better the system of government and strengthen the king's power. Philip Augustus had established a new kind of officers, the *baillis*, who resembled the *missi* of Charlemagne. They were supported by a salary, and were frequently shifted from place to place so that there should be no danger of their taking root and establishing powerful feudal families, as had

happened in the case of the counts, who had originally been royal officers. Louis adopted and extended the institution of the *baillis*. In this way he kept his domains under his control and saw that justice was done and his revenue properly collected.

Before the thirteenth century there was little government in France in the modern sense of the word. In the performance of his simple duties as ruler the king relied for advice and aid upon a council of the great vassals, prelates, and others about his person. This council was scarcely organized into a regular assembly, and it transacted all the various kinds of governmental business without clearly distinguishing one kind from another. In the reign of Louis IX this assembly began to be divided into three bodies with different functions. There was, first, the king's council, to aid him in conducting the general affairs of the kingdom; secondly, a chamber of accounts, a financial body which attended to the revenue; and, lastly, the *parlement*, a supreme court made up of those trained in the law, which was becoming ever more complicated as time went on. Instead of wandering about with the king, as hitherto, the *parlement* took up its quarters upon the little island in the Seine at Paris, where the great courthouse (*Palais de Justice*) still stands. A regular system of appeals from the feudal courts to the royal courts was established. This served greatly to increase the king's power in distant parts of his realms. It was decreed, further, that the royal coins should alone be used in the domains of the king, and that his money should be accepted everywhere else within the kingdom concurrently with the money of those of his vassals who had the privilege of coinage. In short, France was laying the foundations of a modern monarchical state.

The grandson of St. Louis, Philip the Fair (1285–1314), is the first example of a French king who had both the will and the means to play the rôle of an absolute monarch. He had inherited a remarkably well-organized government, compared

with anything that had existed since Charlemagne. He was surrounded by a body of lawyers who had derived their ideas of the powers and rights of a prince from the Roman law. They naturally looked with suspicion upon everything that interfered with the supreme power of the monarch, and encouraged the king to bring the whole government into his own hands regardless of the privileges of his vassals and of the clergy.

Philip's attempt to force the clergy to contribute from their wealth to the support of the government led to a remarkable struggle with the Pope, of which an account will be given in a later chapter. With the hope of gaining the support of the whole nation in his conflict with the head of the Church, the king summoned a great council of his realm in 1302. He included for the first time the representatives of the towns in addition to the nobles and prelates, whom the king had long been accustomed to consult. At the same period that the French Estates General,[1] or national assembly, was taking form through the addition of representatives of the towns, England was creating its Parliament. The two bodies were, however, to have a very different history, as will become clear later.

By the sagacious measures that have been mentioned the French monarchs rescued their realms from feudal disruption and laid the foundation for the most powerful monarchy of western Europe. However, the question of how far the neighboring king across the Channel should extend his power on the Continent remained unanswered. The boundary between France and England was not yet definitely determined, and became during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the cause of long and disastrous wars, from which France finally emerged victorious. We must now turn back to trace the development of her English rival.

[1] The Estates General were so called to distinguish a general meeting of the representatives of the three estates of the realm—clergy, nobility, and third estate (or townsmen)—from a merely local assembly of the provincial estates of Champagne, Provence, Brittany, Languedoc, etc. There are some vague indications that Philip had called in a few townspeople even earlier than 1302.

Beginnings of the British Constitution

The events of England during the years 1189–1272, separating Henry II from Edward I, are quite as important in the history of government as those in France during the corresponding period, from Philip Augustus to Philip the Fair.

The later years of Henry II's reign had been complicated and embittered by his enemy Philip Augustus and by the quarrels and treason of his own sons, for family squabbles and jealousies have had their part in history. His son Richard, in his adventurous career, spent but a few months of his ten years' reign in England. Then, in 1199, he was succeeded by his brother John, whose reign is memorable in several respects. He lost, as we have seen, a great part of the possessions of his house on the continent—Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, etc. He became so strangely involved with the powerful Pope Innocent III that he actually accepted the bishop of Rome as his feudal suzerain and agreed to pay him a regular tribute. Something regarding this episode will be told later, in another connection (p. 210). Lastly, he was driven to grant his barons the Great Charter of English liberties.

When John proposed, in 1213, to lead his English vassals across the water in order to attempt to reconquer his lost possessions, they refused to accompany him, on the ground that their feudal obligations did not bind them to fight outside their country. Moreover, they showed a lively discontent with John's despotism and his neglect of those limits of the kingly power which several of the earlier Norman kings had solemnly recognized. In 1214 a number of the barons met, and took a solemn oath to compel the king, by arms if necessary, to confirm a charter containing the things which, according to English traditions, a king might not do. It proved necessary to march against John, whom the insurgent nobles met at Runnymede, not far from London. Here on June 15, 1215, they forced him to swear to observe the rights of his subjects (as

they conceived them), a statement of which they had carefully written out in order to make things quite clear and prevent future misunderstandings.

The Great Charter is perhaps the most famous document in the history of government; its provisions[1] furnish a brief and comprehensive statement of the burning governmental questions of the age. It was incidentally the whole nation, not merely the nobles, who concluded this great treaty with a tyrannous ruler. The rights of the commoner are guarded, as well as those of the noble. As the king promises to observe the liberties and customs of his vassals and not to abuse his feudal prerogatives, so the vassals agree to observe the rights of their men. The merchant is not to be deprived of his goods for small offenses nor the farmer of his wagon and implements. The king is to impose no tax, besides the three stated feudal aids,[2] except by the consent of the Great Council of the nation. This is to include the prelates and greater barons and all who hold their fiefs directly of the king.

There is no more notable clause in the Charter than that which provides that no freeman is to be arrested or imprisoned or deprived of his property unless he be immediately sent before a court of his peers for trial. To realize the importance of this we must recollect that in France, down to 1789, the king exercised such unlimited powers that he could order the arrest of anyone he pleased and could imprison him for any length of time without bringing him to trial or even informing him of the nature of his offense. The Great Charter provided, further, that the king should permit merchants to move about freely and that he should observe the privileges of the various towns; nor were his officers longer to exercise despotic powers over those under them. Bishop Stubbs says:

[1] For extracts from the Great Charter see *Readings*, chap. xi.

[2] These were payments made when the lord knighted his eldest son, gave his eldest daughter in marriage, or had been captured and was waiting to be ransomed.

The Great Charter is the first great public act of the nation after it has realized its own identity, the consummation of the work for which unconsciously kings, prelates, and lawyers have been laboring for a century. There is not a word in it that recalls the distinctions of race and blood, or that maintains the differences of English and Norman law. It is in one view the summing up of a period of national life, in another the starting-point of a new period, not less eventful than that which it closes.

In judging the Great Charter it should always be remembered that it was drawn up by the barons, who had their own interests especially in mind. The nobles, churchmen, merchants, and other freemen constituted not more than a sixth of the population. The Charter did not include the serfs, who formed the great mass of the people: they could still be treated the same as ever by their masters, the manorial lords. In later centuries, however, when the serfs had been freed, the Charter could be appealed to in defending the people as a whole against the oppression of their rulers.

In spite of his solemn confirmation of the Charter, John, with his accustomed treachery, made a futile attempt to abrogate his engagements; but neither he nor his successors were ever to get rid of the document. Later there were times when the English kings evaded its provisions and tried to rule as absolute monarchs; but the people always sooner or later bethought them of the Charter, which thus continued to form an effective barrier against permanent despotism in England.

During the long reign of John's son, Henry III (1216–1272), England began to construct her Parliament, which has not only played a most important rôle in English history but has also served as a model for similar bodies in almost every civilized state in the world. Henry's fondness for appointing foreigners to office, and his willingness to permit the Pope to levy taxes in England, led the nobles to continue their hostility to the crown. The nobles and the people of the towns, who were anxious to check the arbitrary powers of the king, joined

forces in what is known as the War of the Barons. They found a leader in the patriotic Simon de Montfort, who proved himself a valiant and unselfish defender of the rights of the nation.

The older witenagemot of Saxon times, as well as the Great Council of the Norman kings, was a meeting of nobles, bishops, and abbots which the king summoned from time to time to give him advice and aid and to sanction important governmental undertakings. During Henry's reign its meetings became more frequent and its discussions more vigorous than before, and the name "Parliament" began to be applied to it.

In 1265 a Parliament was held where, through the influence of Simon de Montfort, a most important new class of members—representatives of the *commons*—was present, which was destined to give it its future greatness. In addition to the nobles and prelates, the sheriffs were ordered to summon two simple knights from each county and two citizens from each of the more flourishing towns, to attend and take part in the discussions.

Edward I, the next king (1272–1307), adopted this innovation. He doubtless called in the representatives of the towns because the townspeople were becoming rich and he wished to have an opportunity to ask them to make grants to meet the expenses of the government. He wished also to obtain the approval of all classes when he determined upon important measures affecting the whole realm. Since the so-called "Model" Parliament of 1295, the commons, or representatives of the people, have always been included along with the clergy and nobility when the national assembly of England has been summoned.

Edward's son, Edward II, solemnly promised that all questions relating to his realm and its people should be settled in parliaments in which the commons should be included. Thereafter no statute could be legally passed without their consent. In 1327 Parliament showed its power by forcing Edward II to abdicate in favor of his son, and thereby established the prin-

ciple that the representatives of the nation might even go so far as to depose their ruler, should he show himself clearly unfit for his high duties. About this time Parliament began to meet in two distinct divisions, which later became the House of Lords and the House of Commons. In modern times this form of legislative assembly has been imitated by most of the countries of the world.

England and Scotland

The English kings who preceded Edward I had ruled over only a portion of the island of Great Britain. To the west of their kingdom lay the mountainous district of Wales, inhabited by that remnant of the original Britons which the German invaders had been unable to conquer. To the north of England was the kingdom of Scotland, which was quite independent except for an occasional vague recognition on the part of its rulers of the English kings as their feudal superiors. Edward I succeeded in conquering Wales permanently, but failed in his efforts to make himself king of Scotland.

For centuries a border warfare had been carried on between the English and the Welsh. William the Conqueror had found it necessary to establish a chain of earldoms on the Welsh frontier, and Chester, Shrewsbury, and Monmouth became the outposts of the Normans. Although the raids of the Welsh constantly provoked the English kings to invade Wales, no permanent conquest was possible; for the enemy retreated into the mountains about Snowdon, and the English soldiers were left to starve in the wild regions into which they had ventured. The long and successful resistance which the Welsh made against the English must be attributed not only to their inaccessible retreats but also to the patriotic inspiration of their bards. These minstrels fondly believed that their people would sometime reconquer the whole of England, which they had possessed before the coming of the Angles and Saxons.

When Edward I came to the throne, he demanded that Llewelyn, Prince of Wales (as the head of the Welsh clans was called), should do him homage. Llewelyn, who was a man of ability and energy, refused the king's summons, and Edward marched into Wales. Two campaigns were necessary before the Welsh finally succumbed. Llewelyn was killed (1282), and with him expired the independence of the Welsh people. Edward divided the country into shires and introduced English laws and customs, and his policy of conciliation was so successful that there was but a single rising in the country for a whole century. He later presented his son to the Welsh as their prince, and from that time down to the present the title of "Prince of Wales" has usually been conferred upon the heir to the English throne.

The conquest of Scotland proved a far more difficult matter than that of Wales.

Scotland takes its name from a Celtic people, the Scots, whose kings gradually extended their sway not only over the mountainous region to the north but over the Lowlands, between the river Tweed and the Firth of Forth. This region was English in race and speech, while the Celts of the Highlands spoke and still speak Gaelic, a Celtic language similar to Irish and Welsh. Edinburgh, with its fortress, was the chief town of the Scottish kings.

With the coming of William the Conqueror many Englishmen and also a number of discontented Norman nobles fled across the border to the Lowlands of Scotland and founded some of the great families, like those of Baliol and Bruce, who later fought for Scottish liberty. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the country, especially in the south, developed rapidly under the influence of the neighboring Anglo-Norman civilization, and the towns increased in size and importance.

It was not until the time of Edward I that the long series of troubles between England and Scotland began. The death of the last representative of the old line of Scotch kings in 1290

THE
BRITISH ISLES
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 120
SHETLAND ISLANDS
WHALSEY
FAIR I.
ORKNEY ISLANDS
POMONA
Pentland Firth
Duncansby Head
C. Wrath
THE MINCH
HEBRIDES IS.
LEWIS
HARRIS
LITTLE MINCH
Gulf of the Hebrides
TIREE I.
MULL
BEN NEVIS
Ft. William
Caledonian Canal
Moray Firth
Kinnaird Head
R. Spey
Aberdeen
GRAMPIAN HILLS
Dundee
Scone
Firth of Forth
BEN LOMOND
Bannockburn
Glasgow
EDINBURGH
Paisley
R. Tweed
OCEAN
NORTH SEA
10 8 6 4 2 0 2
60
58
56

Erris Hd.
Donegal Bay
Lough Neagh
Belfast L.
L. Erne
L. Strangford
ISLE OF MAN
Solway
CUMBER
WESTMORLAND
DURHAM
Whitby
Flamborough Head
ACHILL I.
YORK
York
IRISH SEA
Morecambe Bay
Slyne Hd.
L. Ree
Boyne R.
Howth Hd.
Galway
DUBLIN
ARAN ISLES
Galway Bay
L. Derg
R. Barrow
Chester
Liverpool
CHESHIRE
DERBY
LINCOLN
Mouth of the Humber
The Wash
ANGLESEY
Boston
NORFOLK
SHROP
STAFFORD
Shrewsbury
MONTGOMERY
Cardigan Bay
Stourbridge
SUFFOLK
Shannon
Kilkenny
Killarney
Blackwater R.
Cork
Queenstown
Cork Harbor
Lakes of Killarney
Dingle B.
Bantry B.
C. Clear
ST. GEORGE'S CHANNEL
St. Davids Hd.
CARMARTHEN
Monmouth
GLAMORGAN
Bristol
Bristol Channel
Wells
SOMERSET
Salisbury
HAMPSHIRE
SURREY
LONDON
Greenwich
KENT
Canterbury
Seniac
SUSSEX
Hastings
Mouth of the Thames
Strait of Dover
DEVON
Exeter
DORSET
ISLE OF WIGHT
Portland Bill
CORNWALL
Land's End
SCILLY IS.
Lizard Pt.
ENGLISH CHANNEL
CHANNEL ISLANDS
JERSEY
FRANCE
Seine R.
ATLANTIC
54
52
50
10
8
6
Longitude West 4 from Greenwich
2
0
Longitude East

was followed by the appearance of a number of claimants to the crown. To avoid civil war Edward was asked to decide who should be king. He agreed to make the decision on condition that the one whom he selected should hold Scotland as a fief from the English king. This arrangement was adopted, and the crown was given to John Baliol. But Edward unwisely made demands upon the Scots which aroused their anger, and their king renounced his homage to the king of England. The Scotch, moreover, formed an alliance with Edward's enemy, Philip the Fair of France; thenceforth, in all the difficulties between England and France, the English kings had always to reckon with the disaffected Scotch, who were glad to aid England's enemies.

Edward marched in person against the Scotch (1296) and speedily put down what he regarded as a rebellion. He declared that Baliol had forfeited his fief through treason, and that consequently the English king had become the immediate lord of the Scotch nobles, whom he forced to do him homage. He emphasized his claim by carrying off the famous Stone of Scone, upon which the kings of Scotland had been crowned for ages. Continued resistance led Edward to attempt to incorporate Scotland with England in the same way that he had treated Wales. This was the beginning of three hundred years of intermittent war between England and Scotland, which ended only when a Scotch king, James VI, succeeded to the English throne, in 1603, as James I.

That Scotland was able to maintain her independence was due mainly to Robert Bruce, a national hero who succeeded in bringing both the nobility and the people under his leadership. Edward I died, old and worn out, in 1307, when on his way north to put down a rising under Bruce, and left the task of dealing with the Scotch to his incompetent son, Edward II. The Scotch acknowledged Bruce as their king, and decisively defeated Edward II in the great battle of Bannockburn, the most famous conflict in Scottish history. Nevertheless the

English refused to acknowledge their failure and recognize the independence of Scotland until forced to do so in 1328.

In the course of their struggles with England the Scotch people of the Lowlands had become more closely welded together; and the independence of Scotland, although it caused much bloodshed, first and last, served to develop certain permanent differences between the little Scotch nation and the rest of the English race. The peculiarities of the people north of the Tweed have been made familiar by the writings of gifted Scotchmen like Burns, Scott, and Stevenson.

The Hundred Years' War

The so-called Hundred Years' War, which we must now review, was a long but frequently interrupted series of conflicts between the English and French kings. It began in the following manner: The king of England, through John's misconduct, had lost Normandy and other portions of the great Plantagenet realm on the Continent.[1] He still retained, however, the extensive duchy of Guienne, for which he did homage to the king of France, whose most powerful vassal he was. This arrangement was bound to produce constant difficulty, especially as the French kings were, as we have discovered, bent upon destroying as fast as possible the influence of their vassals, so that the royal power should everywhere take the place of that of the feudal lords. It was obviously out of the question for the king of England meekly to permit the French monarch to extend his control directly over the people of Guienne, and yet this was the constant aim of Philip the Fair[2] and his successors.

The inevitable struggle between England and France was rendered the more serious by the claim made by Edward III that he was himself the rightful king of France. He based his pretensions upon the fact that his mother, Isabella, was the

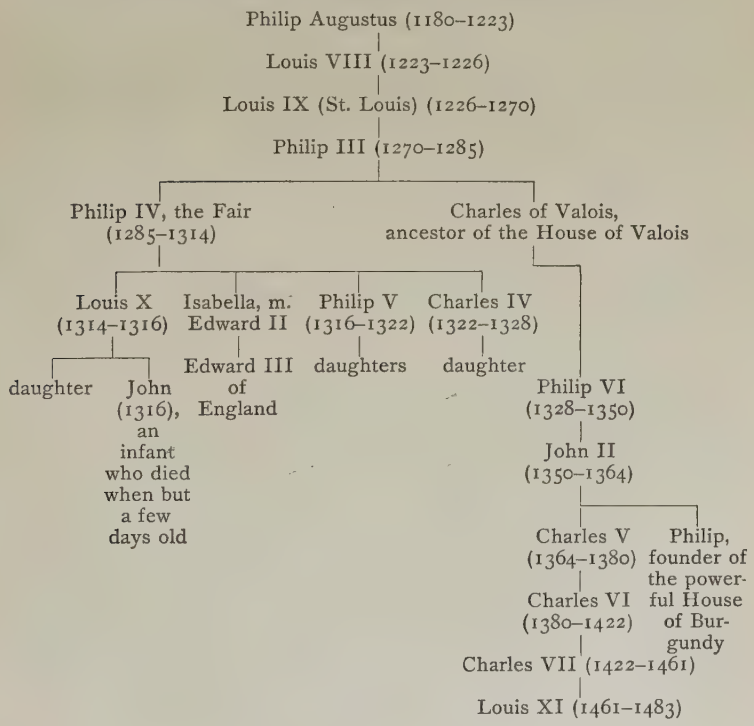
[1] See page 158.

[2] See table on following page.

daughter of Philip the Fair. Philip, who died in 1314, had been followed by his three sons in succession, none of whom had left a male heir, so that the direct male line of the Capetians was extinguished in 1328. The lawyers thereupon declared that it was a venerable law in France that no woman should succeed to the throne. The principle was also asserted that a woman could not even transmit the crown to her son. Consequently Edward III appeared to be definitely excluded, and Philip VI of Valois, a nephew of Philip the Fair, became king.[1]

At first Edward III, who was a mere boy in 1328, appeared to recognize the propriety of this settlement and did qualified homage to Philip VI for Guienne; but when it became appar-

[1] The French kings during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries:



ent later that Philip was not only encroaching upon Edward's prerogatives in Guienne but had sent French troops to aid the Scotch, the English king bethought him of his neglected claim to the French crown.

The advantage of publicly declaring himself the rightful king of France was increased by the attitude of the flourishing towns of Flanders. Philip VI had assisted the count of Flanders in a bitter struggle to prevent the towns from establishing their independence. Consequently the Flemish burghers now announced their willingness to desert Philip and acknowledge and aid Edward as their king.

Flanders—a part of what was to become the Belgium of our day—was at this period the most important trading and manufacturing country in western Europe. Ghent was a great manufacturing town, like Manchester today, and Bruges a busy port, like the modern Antwerp or Liverpool. All this prosperity was dependent largely upon England, for it was from there that the Flemish manufacturers procured the fine, long wool which they spun into yarn and wove on their looms into cloth.

In 1336 the count of Flanders ordered the imprisonment of all the Englishmen who had wandered into Flanders. Edward promptly retaliated by prohibiting the export of wool from England and the importation of Flemish cloth. At the same time he encouraged the Flemish weavers to come over to England and settle there.

In 1346 Edward undertook a campaign in France, and the battle of Crécy was fought, in which the humble English soldiers on foot defeated and routed with their long bows and their showers of arrows the stately cavaliers of France.[1] Ten years

[1] Formerly it was supposed that gunpowder helped to decide the battle in favor of the English; but if siege guns, which were already beginning to be used, were employed at all, they were too crude and the charges too light to do much damage. For some generations to come, the bow and arrow held its own; it was not until the sixteenth century that gunpowder came to be commonly and effectively used in battles. For the account of Crécy by Froissart, the celebrated historian of the fourteenth century, see *Readings*, chap. xx.

later Edward's son, the Black Prince, won another battle, at Poitiers, and took captive the French king, John.

The French very properly attributed the signal disasters of Crécy and Poitiers to the inefficiency of their king and his advisers. Accordingly, after the second defeat, the Estates General, which had been summoned to approve the raising of more money, attempted to take matters into their own hands. The representatives of the towns, whom Philip the Fair had first called in,[1] were on this occasion more numerous than the members of the clergy and nobility. A great list of reforms was drawn up, which provided, among other things, that the Estates should meet regularly whether summoned by the king or not, and that the collection and expenditure of the public revenue should be no longer entirely under the control of the king but should be supervised by the representatives of the people. The city of Paris rose in support of the revolutionary Estates; but the violence of its allies discredited rather than helped the movement, and France was soon glad to accept once more the unrestricted rule of its king.

This unsuccessful attempt to reform the French government is interesting in two ways. In the first place, there was much in the aims of the reformers and in the conduct of the Paris mob that suggests the great, successful French Revolution of 1789, which at last fundamentally modified the organization of the State. In the second place, the history of the Estates forms a curious contrast to that of the English Parliament, which was laying the foundation of its later power during this very period. While the French king occasionally summoned the Estates when he needed money, he did so only in order that their approbation of new taxes might make it easier to collect them. He never admitted that he had not the right to levy taxes if he wished without consulting his subjects. In England, on the other hand, the kings ever since the time of Edward I had repeatedly agreed that no new taxes should be imposed

[1] See page 162.

without the consent of Parliament. Edward II had gone farther, and accepted the representatives of the people as his advisers in all important matters touching the welfare of the realm. While the French Estates gradually sank into insignificance, the English Parliament soon learned to grant no money

FRENCH TERRITORY CEDED TO ENGLAND BY THE TREATY OF BRETIGNY (1360)

until the king had redressed the grievances which it pointed out, and thus it insured its influence over the king's policy.

Edward III found it impossible to conquer France in spite of the victories of the Black Prince and the capture of the French king by the English. Edward was glad in 1360 to sign the Treaty of Bretigny, in which he not only renounced his pretensions to the French crown but agreed to say no more of the old claims of his family to Normandy and the Plantagenet provinces north of the Loire. In return for these concessions

he received, in full sovereignty and without any feudal obligations to the king of France, Poitou, Guienne, Gascony, and the town of Calais, amounting to about one third of the territory of France.

The highly artificial peace of Bretigny was, however, soon broken. The Black Prince, to whom the government of Guienne was delegated by his father, levied such heavy taxes that he quickly alienated the hearts of a people naturally drawn to France rather than to England. When the sagacious Charles V of France (1364–1380) undertook to reconquer the territory which his father had ceded to England, he met with no determined opposition; Edward III was getting old, and his warlike son, the Black Prince, had fallen mortally ill. So when Edward died in 1377, nothing remained to the English king except Calais and a strip of land from Bordeaux southward.

For a generation after the death of Edward III the war with France was almost discontinued. France had suffered a great deal more than England. In the first place, all the fighting had been done on her side of the Channel; and, in the second place, the soldiers who found themselves without occupation after the Treaty of Bretigny had wandered about in bands maltreating and plundering the people. Petrarch, who visited France at this period, tells us that he could not believe that this was the same kingdom which he had once seen so rich and flourishing. "Nothing presented itself to my eyes but fearful solitude and extreme poverty, uncultivated land and houses in ruins. Even about Paris there were everywhere signs of fire and destruction. The streets were deserted; the roads overgrown with weeds."

During this period the kingship both in England and France was weakened, for a time, owing to the rivalries of powerful houses of nobles—a recrudescence of feudal disorder. In France there was an insane king, Charles VI. The country was divided between two great factions, the Orleanists and the supporters of the duke of Burgundy. The duke of Burgundy

found it to his interest to support the renewed claims of the English king to the French crown. Accordingly, after a victory at Agincourt (1415) the English king, Henry V, was able to force on the French a treaty by which the king of England should succeed the mad Charles VI when he should die.

Both Henry V and Charles VI died two years later. Henry V's son, Henry VI, was but nine months old; nevertheless,

POSSESSIONS OF THE ENGLISH KING IN FRANCE UPON THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VI, 1422

according to the terms of the Treaty of Troyes, he succeeded to the throne of France as well as England. The child was recognized only in a portion of northern France. Through the ability of his uncle, the duke of Bedford, his interests were defended with such good effect that the English succeeded in a few years in conquering all of France north of the Loire, although the south continued to be held by Charles VII, the son of Charles VI.

Charles VII had not yet been crowned; and so he was still called the Dauphin,[1] even by his supporters. Weak and indolent, he did nothing to stem the tide of English victories or restore the courage and arouse the patriotism of his distressed subjects. This great task was reserved for a young peasant girl from a remote village on the eastern border of France. To her family and her companions Joan of Arc seemed only "a good girl, simple and pleasant in her ways," but she brooded much over the disasters that had overtaken her country, and a great desire to be a soldier filled her heart. She saw visions and heard voices that bade her go forth to the help of the king and lead him to Reims to be crowned.

It was with the greatest difficulty that she got anybody to believe in her mission or to help her to get an audience with the Dauphin. But her own firm faith in her divine guidance triumphed over all doubts and obstacles. She was at last accepted as a God-sent champion and placed at the head of some troops dispatched to the relief of Orleans. This city, which was the key to southern France, had been besieged by the English for some months and was on the point of surrender. Joan, who rode on horseback at the head of her troops, clothed in armor like a man, had now become the idol of the soldiers and of the people. Under the guidance and inspiration of her indomitable courage, sound sense, and burning enthusiasm Orleans was relieved and the English were completely routed. The Maid of Orleans, as she was henceforth called, was now free to conduct the Dauphin to Reims, where he was crowned in the cathedral (July 17, 1429).[2]

The Maid now felt that her mission was accomplished, and begged permission to return to her home and her brothers and sisters. To this the king would not consent, and she continued

[1] The title "Dauphin," originally belonging to the ruler of Dauphiny, was enjoyed by the eldest son of the French king after Dauphiny became a part of France in 1349, in the same way that the eldest son of the English king was called Prince of Wales.

[2] See Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan*.

to fight his battles with undiminished loyalty. But the other leaders were jealous of her; and even her friends, the soldiers, were sensitive to the taunt of being led by a woman. During the defense of Compiègne in May, 1430, she was allowed to fall into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, who sold her to the English. They were not satisfied with simply holding as prisoner that strange maiden who had so discomfited them; they wished to discredit everything that she had done, and so they declared, and undoubtedly believed, her to be a witch who had been helped by the Evil One. She was tried by a court of ecclesiastics, found guilty of heresy, and burned at Rouen in 1431. Her bravery and noble constancy affected even her executioners, and an English soldier who had come to triumph over her death was heard to exclaim, "We are lost—we have burned a saint." The English cause in France was indeed lost, for Joan of Arc's spirit and example had given new courage and vigor to the French armies.

The English Parliament became more and more reluctant to grant funds when there were no more victories gained. Bedford, through whose ability the English cause had hitherto been maintained, died in 1435; and Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, renounced his alliance with the English and joined Charles VII. Owing to his acquisition of the Netherlands the possessions of Philip were now so great that he might well be regarded as a European potentate whose alliance with France rendered further efforts on England's part hopeless. From this time on, the English lost ground steadily. They were expelled from Normandy in 1450. Three years later the last vestige of their long domination in southern France passed into the hands of the French king. The Hundred Years' War was over; and although England still retained Calais, the great question whether she should extend her sway upon the Continent was finally settled.

CHAPTER IX

GERMANY AND ITALY IN THE MIDDLE AGES: POPES AND EMPERORS

The Origin of the Holy Roman Empire

Owing to what seems almost an accident—namely, the coronation of Charlemagne as Roman Emperor, on Christmas Day in the year 800—the history of Germany and Italy became strangely entangled for centuries. The fate of these two countries, separated by the great barrier of the Alps, was long interwoven. The bitterness of the struggle between the German emperors and the popes was not the result merely of the persistent efforts of the German kings to extend their rule over Italian soil and, incidentally, over the bishop of Rome. The intricacy of the relations between German and Italian rulers was greatly enhanced by the counter ambition of the popes to make themselves spiritual emperors of Europe. Consequently the efforts of the papacy to raise itself to preëminence in European affairs is particularly well illustrated in the history of medieval Germany. In any case one cannot hope to understand the events of the nineteenth century without some idea of those of the ninth. The tale is long and complicated and will be presented here only in its salient issues.

The history of the kingship in the eastern, or German, part of Charlemagne's empire is very different from that in France, which was reviewed in the previous chapter. After a struggle of four hundred years it had become clear, by the thirteenth century, that the successors of Louis the German (Charlemagne's grandson) could not make of Germany a kingdom such as St. Louis left to his descendants. From the thirteenth

century down to Napoleon's time there was no Germany in a political sense, but only a great number of practically independent states, large and small. It was not until 1871 that, under the leadership of Prussia,—a kingdom unknown until many centuries after Charlemagne's time,—the previously independent kingdoms, principalities, and free towns were formed into the federation known as the German Empire.

The map of the eastern part of Charlemagne's empire a century after his death indicates that the whole region had fallen into certain large divisions ruled over by dukes, who, in Saxony and Bavaria at least, were kings in all but name.[1] Just how these duchies originated is something of a mystery, but at least two things are clear which help to explain their appearance. In the first place, under the weak successors of Louis the German the old independent spirit of the various peoples, or *stems*, that Charlemagne had been able to hold together, asserted itself once more, and they gladly returned to the leadership of their own chiefs. In the second place, they were driven to do this by the constant attacks from without, first of the Northmen and the Moravians, a Slavic people, then of the terrible Hungarian horsemen who penetrated more than once as far west as France. As there was no competent central power to defend the people, it was natural that they should look to their local leaders for help and guidance.

These *stem duchies*, as the German historians call them, prevented the German kings from getting a firm hold on their realms. The best that the kings could do was to bring about a sort of confederation. Consequently, when the German aristocracy chose the strong Henry I (919–936) of the ducal house of Saxony as their king, in 919, he wisely made no attempt to deprive the several dukes of their power. He needed their assistance in the task of dealing with the invaders who were pressing in on all sides. He prepared the way for the later

[1] See the map following page 184 for the names and positions of the several duchies.

subjugation of the Slavs and the final repulse of the Hungarians, but he left to his famous son, Otto I, the task of finally disposing of the invaders and attempting to found a real kingdom.

The reign of Otto I (936–973), called the Great, is one of the most extraordinary in the history of Germany. He made no attempt to abolish the duchies; but he succeeded in getting all of them into the hands of his sons, brothers, or near relatives, as well as in reducing the power of the dukes. For example, he made his brother Henry duke of Bavaria, after forgiving him for two revolts. His scholarly brother, Archbishop Bruno of Cologne,[1] he made duke of Lorraine in the place of his faithless son-in-law, Conrad, who had rebelled against him. Many of the old ducal families either died out or lost their heritage by unsuccessful revolt. None of them offered a long succession of able rulers. The duchies consequently fell repeatedly into the hands of the king, who then claimed the right to assign them to whom he wished.

In the middle of the tenth century the northern and eastern boundaries of Germany were as yet very ill defined. The Slavic peoples across the Elbe, many of whom were still pagans, were engaged in continual attacks upon the borders of Saxony. Otto I did more than fight these tribes: he established dioceses, such as Brandenburg, Havelberg, etc., in a district which was to become the political center of the modern German Empire, and he greatly forwarded the Christianizing and colonization of the tract between the Elbe and the Oder.

Moreover, he put an end forever to the invasions of the Hungarians. He defeated them in a great battle near Augsburg (955) and pursued them to the confines of Germany. The Hungarians—or Magyars, as they are commonly called—then settled down in their own territory and began to lay the foundations of that national development which has made them one of the important factors in the eastern portion of Europe. A

[1] See *Readings*, chap. xii.

region which had belonged to the Bavarian duchy was organized as a separate district, the Austrian *Mark* (that is, March), and became the nucleus of the later Austrian empire.

The most noteworthy of Otto's acts, however, was his interference in Italian affairs, which led to his assuming the imperial crown which Charlemagne had worn. There is no more gloomy chapter in European history than the experiences of Italy and the papacy after the final break-up of Charlemagne's empire upon the deposition of Charles the Fat in 887. We know little of what went on; but we learn that the duke of Spoleto, the marquis of Friuli, and Burgundian princes from across the Alps assumed the Italian crown at different times. The Mohammedan invasions added to the confusion, so that Germany and France, in spite of their incessant wars, appear almost tranquil compared with the anarchy in Italy. Three Italian kings were crowned Emperor by the popes during the generation following the deposition of Charles the Fat. Then for a generation the title "Emperor" disappeared altogether in the West, until it was again assumed by the German Otto.

Italy was a tempting field of operations for an ambitious ruler. Otto first crossed the Alps in 951, married the widow of one of the ephemeral Italian kings, and, without being formally crowned, was generally acknowledged as king of Italy. The revolt of his son compelled him to return to Germany, but a decade later the Pope called him to his assistance. Otto answered the summons promptly, freed the Pope from his enemies, and was crowned Emperor at Rome, in 962.

The coronation of Otto the Great, like that of Charlemagne, was a momentous event in medieval history. By assuming the imperial crown he imposed so great a burden on his successors, the German kings, that they finally succumbed beneath it. For three centuries they strove to keep Germany together and at the same time control Italy and the papacy. After interminable wars and incalculable sacrifices they lost all. Italy escaped them; the papacy established its complete independ-

ence; and Germany, their rightful patrimony, instead of growing into a strong monarchy, fell apart into weak little states.

Otto's own experiences furnish an example of the melancholy results of his relations with the Pope, to whom he owed his crown. Hardly had he turned his back before the Pope began to violate his engagements. It became necessary for the new emperor to hasten back to Rome and summon a council for the deposition of the pontiff, whose conduct certainly furnished ample justification. But the Romans refused to accept a pope chosen under Otto's auspices, and he had to return again to Rome and besiege the city before his pope was acknowledged. A few years later, still a third expedition was necessary in order to restore another of the Emperor's popes, who had been driven out of Rome by the local factions.

The succeeding emperors had usually to make a similar series of costly and troublesome journeys to Rome: a first one to be crowned, and then others either to depose a hostile pope or to protect a loyal one from the oppression of neighboring lords. These excursions were very distracting, especially to a ruler who left behind him in Germany a rebellious nobility that always took advantage of his absence to revolt.

Otto's successors dropped their old title of "King of the East Franks" as soon as they had been duly crowned by the Pope at Rome, and assumed the magnificent and all-embracing designation "Emperor Ever August of the Romans."[1] Their "Holy Roman Empire," as it came to be called later, which was to endure (in name, at least) for more than eight centuries, was obviously even less like that of the ancient Romans than was Charlemagne's. As *kings* of Germany and Italy they

[1] Henry II (1002–1024) and his successors, not venturing to assume the title of "Emperor" till crowned at Rome, but anxious to claim the sovereignty of Rome as indissolubly attached to the German crown, began to call themselves before their coronation *rex Romanorum*; that is, "King of the Romans." This habit lasted until Luther's time, when Maximilian I got permission from the Pope to call himself "Emperor Elect" before his coronation, and this title was thereafter taken by his successors immediately upon their election.

had practically all the powers that they enjoyed as *emperors,* except the fatal right that they claimed of taking part in the election of the Pope. We shall find that instead of making themselves feared at home and building up a great state, the German emperors wasted their strength in a long struggle with the popes, who proved themselves in the end incomparably the stronger and eventually reduced the Empire to a mere shadow.

We have no space to speak of the immediate successors of Otto the Great. Like him they had to meet opposition at home as well as the attacks of their restless neighbors, especially the Slavs. The Empire is usually considered to have reached its height under Conrad II (1024–1039) and Henry III (1039–1056)—the first two representatives of the new Franconian line which succeeded the Saxon house upon its extinction in 1024.

Notwithstanding the energy and ability of Conrad II and Henry III, the fact that the Empire stands forth as the great power of western Europe during the first half of the eleventh century is due largely to the absence of any strong rivals. The French kings had not yet overcome the feudal disruption; and although the Italian towns and princes objected to the control of the Emperor, they never could agree to combine against him.

The Problem of the Princely Prelates

The most important question that Henry III had to face was that of a great reform of the Church. This was already under way; and it was bound, if carried out, to destroy the control of the emperors not only over the papacy but also over the German bishops and abbots, whom they had strengthened by grants of land and authority with the special purpose of making them the chief support of the monarchy. The reform was not directed particularly against the Emperor; but he was, as will become apparent, more seriously affected by the changes proposed by the reforming party than any other of the European rulers.

EUROPE
ABOUT A. D. 1000
0 100 200 300
Scale of Miles.
Longitude West 5 from Greenwich
10
5
0
55
50
45
40
Edinburgh
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND
IRELAND
Dublin
Cork
Durham
York
ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOM
WALES
Chester
Norwich
Cardiff
Oxford
London
Canterbury
Hastings
Boulogne
Crecy
Arincourt
Liege
LOTHRINGEN
Cambrai
Laon
Rouen
NORMANDY
Paris
D'Y OF BRITTANY
D'Y OF FRANCIA
Orleans
Nantes
Loire
Tours
Poitiers
Bourges
D'Y OF BURGUNDY
Besancon
Autun
FRANCE
D'Y OF AQUITAINE
Limoges
Lyon
Vienne
Bordeaux
Oviedo
ASTURIA
Bayonne
D'Y OF GASCONY
CO. OF TOULOUSE
Toulouse
Nimes
Avignon
Narbonne
Marseilles
KINGDOM OF LEON
Leon
Burgos
K. OF NAVARRE
Pampluna
ARAGON
CASTILE
CO. OF BARCELONA
Zamora
Salamanca
Saragossa
Lerida
Barcelona
Ebro
Tagus
Toledo
Cuenca
Lisbon
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA
SARACENIC POSSE
Valencia
Balearic Isles
Cordova
Seville
Murcia
Cartagena
Malaga
Strait of Gibraltar
EMPIRE OF THE FAT

15
20
25
30
55
50
45
40
LITHUANIANS
Minsk
Bornholm
Rugen
Danzig
Kolberg
PRUSSIANS
POMERANIA
(To Poland)
Stettin
NORTH MARK
Brandenburg
Vistula
Plock
Gnesen
Posen
DUCHY
OF
POLAND
Oder
Pinsk
Pripet
Tchernigov
Kiev
(Kijew)
Belsk
Krakow
CHROPATIA
Halisc
Dniester
Pruth
Haberstadt
EAST MARK
(Lusatia)
Meissen
Erfurt
MARK OF MEISSEN
DUCHY OF
BOHEMIA
Prague
Olmütz
MARK OF
MORAVIA
Brünn
MARK OF
AUSTRIA
Danube
Regensburg
Freising
Augsburg
DY OF
BAVARIA
Salzburg
Pressburg
Gran
Erlau
Tisza
Stuhlweissenburg
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
Maros
Fünfkirchen
Drava
Brixen
DY OF
CARINTHIA
Villach
Belluno
MARK OF VERONA
Aquileia
Zagreb
(Agram)
K. OF
CROATIA
Sirmium
Belgrade
Venice
Po
Ravenna
Zara
Spalato
SERBIA
Vidin
Nicopolis
Peristhlava
Varna
Tirnovo
Nissa
Triaditza
(Sofia)
THE STRYMON
Philippopolis
THEME OF
HAEMINONT
Adrianople
THEME OF
THRACE
Florence
TUSCANY
Ancona
VENETIAN POSSESSIONS
Ragusa
Dioclea
Scodra
Skopia
BULGARIA
THEME OF MACEDONIA
Constantinople
Siena
Spoleto
STATE
OF THE
CHURCH
Sutri
Rome
BENEVENTO
Benevento
Dyrrhachium
(Durazzo)
Okhrida
Salonika
THEME OF
THE SALONICA
Bari
Brindisi
THEME OF LOMBARDY
Gaëta
Naples
NAPLES
Salerno
SALERNO
Kastoria
Adramyttium
Larissa
THEME OF THE
AEGEAN
ISLANDS
THEME OF
CALABRIA
THEME
OF
CEPHALENIA
THEME OF
NICOPOLIS
THEME OF
HELLAS
Athens
THEME
OF
PELOPONNESUS
Corinth
Argos
Messina
Reggio
Palermo
SICILY
Catania
CRETE
Longitude East 15 from Greenwich

In order to understand the reform, and the long struggle between the emperors and the popes which grew out of it, we must stop a moment to consider the condition of the Church in the time of Henry III. It seemed to be losing all its strength and dignity and to be falling apart, just as Charlemagne's empire had dissolved into feudal bits. This was due, strangely enough, to the vast landed possessions of the clergy, which, instead of strengthening the Church, threatened it with disintegration. Kings, princes, and rich landowners had long considered it meritorious to make donations to bishoprics and monasteries, so that a very considerable portion of the land in western Europe had come into the hands of churchmen.

When landowners began to give and receive land as fiefs, the property of the Church was naturally drawn into the feudal relations. A king or other proprietor might grant fiefs to churchmen as well as to laymen. The bishops became the vassals of the king or of other feudal lords by doing homage for a fief and swearing fidelity, just as any other vassal would do. An abbot sometimes placed his monastery under the protection of a neighboring lord by giving up his land and by receiving it back again as a fief.

One great difference, however, existed between the Church lands and the ordinary fiefs. According to the law of the Church the bishops and abbots could not marry and so could have no legitimate children to whom they might transmit their property. Consequently, when a landholding churchman died, someone had to be chosen in his place who should enjoy his property and perform his duties. From time immemorial the rule of the Church had been that the clergy of the diocese should choose the bishop, their choice being ratified by the people. As the Church law expresses it, "A bishop is therefore rightly appointed in the church of God when the people acclaim him who has been elected by the common vote of the clergy." As for the abbots, according to the Rule of St. Benedict they were to be chosen by the members of the monastery.

In spite of these rules the bishops and abbots had come, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, to be selected, to all intents and purposes, by the various kings and feudal lords. It is true that the outward forms of a regular ("canonical") election were usually permitted; but the feudal lord made it clear whom he wished chosen; and if the wrong person was elected, he simply refused to hand over to him the lands attached to the bishopric or abbey. The lord could in this way control the selection of the prelates; for in order to become a real bishop or abbot one had not only to be elected, but also to be solemnly "invested" with the appropriate powers of a bishop or abbot and with his lands.

Since, to the worldly-minded, the spiritual powers attached to Church offices possessed little attraction if no property went along with them, the feudal lord was really master of the situation. When his appointee was duly chosen, he proceeded to the *investiture*. The new bishop or abbot first became the "man" of the feudal lord by doing him homage, and then the lord transferred to him the lands and rights attached to the office. No careful distinction appears to have been made between the property and the spiritual prerogatives. The lord often conferred both by bestowing upon a bishop the ring and the crosier, the emblems of religious authority. It seemed shocking enough that the lord, who was often a rough soldier, should dictate the selection of the bishops, but it was still more shocking that he should audaciously assume to confer spiritual powers with spiritual emblems. Yet even worse things might happen, since sometimes the lord, for his greater convenience, had himself made bishop.

The Church itself naturally looked at the property attached to a benefice as a mere incident and considered the spiritual prerogatives the main thing. And since the clergy alone could rightly confer these, it was natural that they should claim the right to bestow ecclesiastical offices, including the lands ("temporalities") attached to them, upon whomsoever they pleased,

without consulting any layman whatever. Against this claim the king might urge that a simple minister of the Gospel or a holy monk was by no means necessarily fitted to manage the interests of a feudal state, such as the great archbishoprics and bishoprics, and even the abbeys, had become in Germany and elsewhere in the eleventh century.

In short, the situation in which the bishops found themselves was a very complicated one. (1) As an officer of the Church the bishop had certain ecclesiastical and religious duties within the limits of his diocese. He saw that parish priests were properly selected and ordained, he tried certain cases in his court, and he performed the Church ceremonies. (2) He managed the lands belonging to the bishopric, which might or might not be fiefs. (3) As a vassal of those who had granted lands to the bishopric upon feudal terms, he owed the usual feudal dues, not excluding the duty of furnishing troops to his lord. (4) Lastly, in Germany, the king had in many cases found it convenient, from about the beginning of the eleventh century, to confer upon the bishops the authority of a count in the districts about them. In this way they might have the right to collect tolls, coin money, and perform other important governmental duties.[1] When a prelate was inducted into office, he was invested with all these various functions (both spiritual and governmental) at once.

Consequently, to forbid the king to take part in the investiture was to rob him not only of his feudal rights but also of his authority over many of his government officials, since bishops, and sometimes even abbots, were often counts in all but name. Moreover, the monarch relied upon the clergy, both in Germany and in France, to counterbalance the influence of his lay vassals, who were always trying to exalt their power at his

[1] These grants of the powers of a count to prelates serve to explain the *ecclesiastical* states,—for example, the archbishoprics of Mainz and Salzburg, the bishopric of Bamberg, and so forth,—which continue to appear upon the map of Germany until the opening of the nineteenth century.

expense. He therefore found it necessary to take care who got possession of the important Church offices.

Still another danger threatened the wealth and resources of the Church. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the rule of the Church prohibiting the clergy from marrying[1] appears to have been widely and publicly neglected in Italy, Germany, France, and England. To the stricter critics of the time this situation appeared a terrible evil, since the clergy, they felt, should be unencumbered by family cares and wholly devoted to the service of God. The question, too, had another side. It was obvious that the property of the Church would soon be dispersed if the clergy were allowed to marry, since they would wish to provide for their children. Just as the feudal tenures had become hereditary, so the Church lands would become hereditary unless the clergy were forced to remain unmarried.

Besides the feudalizing of its property and the marriage of the clergy, there was a third great and constant source of weakness and corruption in the Church; namely, the temptation to buy and sell Church offices. Had the duties and responsibilities of the bishops, abbots, and priests always been arduous and exacting, and their recompense barely enough to maintain them, there would have been little tendency to bribe those who could bestow the appointments; but the incomes of bishoprics and abbeys were usually considerable, sometimes very great,

[1] From the beginning, single life had appealed to some Christians as more worthy than the married state. Gradually, under the influence of monasticism, the more devout and enthusiastic clergy voluntarily shunned marriage or, if already married, gave up association with their wives after ordination. Finally the Western Church condemned marriage altogether for the deacon and the ranks above him, and later the subdeacons were included in the prohibition. The records are too incomplete for the historian to form an accurate idea of how far the prohibition of the Church was really observed throughout the countries of the West. There were certainly great numbers of married clergymen in northern Italy, Germany, and elsewhere in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Of course, the Church refused to sanction the marriage of its officials and called the wife of a clergyman, however virtuous and faithful she might be, by the name of "concubine." See Lea's *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*.

whereas the duties attached to the office of bishop or abbot, however serious in the eyes of the right-minded, might easily be neglected by the unscrupulous. The revenue from a great landed estate, the distinction of high ecclesiastical rank, and the governmental prerogatives that went with the office were enough to induce the members of the noblest families to vie with each other in securing Church positions. The king or prince who possessed the right of investiture was sure of finding someone willing to pay something for important benefices.

The sin of buying or selling Church offices was recognized as a most heinous one. It was called *simony*,[1] a name derived from Simon the Magician, who, according to the account in the Acts of the Apostles, offered Peter money if he would give him the power of conferring the Holy Spirit upon those on whom he should lay his hands. As the apostle denounced this first simonist, so the Church has continued ever since to denounce those who propose to purchase its sacred powers: "Thy silver perish with thee, because thou hast thought to obtain the gift of God with money" (Acts viii, 20).

Doubtless very few bought positions in the Church with the view of obtaining the "gift of God"; that is to say, the religious office. It was the revenue and the honor that were chiefly coveted. Moreover, when a king or lord accepted a gift from one for whom he procured a benefice, he did not regard himself as selling the office: he merely shared its advantages. No transaction took place in the Middle Ages without accompanying gifts and fees of various kinds. The Church lands were well managed and remunerative. The clergyman who was appointed to a rich bishopric or abbey seemed to have far more revenue than he needed and so was expected to contribute to the king's treasury, which was usually empty.

The evil of graft was therefore explicable enough, and perhaps ineradicable under the circumstances. It was, nevertheless, very demoralizing, for it spread downward and infected

[1] Pronounced *sĭm'ō nĭ*.

the whole body of the clergy. A bishop who had made a large outlay in obtaining his office naturally expected something from the priests, whom it was his duty to appoint. The priest, in turn, was tempted to reimburse himself by improper exactions for the performance of his regular religious duties, for baptizing and marrying his parishioners, and for burying the dead.

So it seemed, at the opening of the eleventh century, as if the Church were to be dragged down by its property into the anarchy of feudalism described in a preceding chapter. There were many indications that its great officers were to become merely the vassals of kings and princes and no longer to represent a great international institution under the headship of the popes. The bishop of Rome not only had ceased, in the tenth century, to exercise any considerable influence over the churches beyond the Alps, but was himself controlled by the restless nobles of central Italy. He appears much less important, in the chronicles of the time, than the archbishops of Reims or Mainz. There is no more extraordinary revolution recorded in history than that which raised the weak and demoralized papacy of the tenth century to a supreme place in European affairs.

One of the noble families of Rome had got the selection of the popes into its own hands and was using the papal authority to secure its control over the city. In the same year (1024) in which Conrad II became Emperor, a layman was actually exalted to the headship of the Church, and after him a mere boy of ten or twelve years, Benedict IX, who, in addition to his youth, proved to be thoroughly evil-minded. His powerful family maintained him, however, on the papal throne for a decade, until he proposed to marry. This so scandalized even the not oversensitive Romans that they drove him out of the city. A rich neighboring bishop then secured his own election. Presently a third claimant appeared in the person of a pious and learned priest who bought out the claims of Benedict IX for a large sum of money and assumed the title of "Gregory VI."

This state of affairs seemed to the Emperor, Henry III, to call for his interference. He accordingly went to Italy and in 1046 summoned a council at Sutri (north of Rome), where two of the claimants were deposed. Gregory VI, more conscientious than his rivals, not only resigned his office but tore his pontifical robes in pieces and admitted his monstrous crime in buying the papal dignity, though his motives had been of the purest. The Emperor then secured the election of a worthy German bishop as Pope, whose first act was to crown Henry and his wife Agnes.

The appearance of Henry III in Italy at this juncture, and the settlement of the question of the three rival popes, are among the most important events of all medieval history in their results. In lifting the papacy out of the realm of petty Italian politics Henry unwittingly helped to raise up a rival to the imperial authority which was destined, before the end of the next century, to overshadow it and to become without question the greatest power in western Europe.

Popes and Emperors: Gregory VII

For nearly two hundred years the popes had assumed very little responsibility for the welfare of Europe at large. It was a gigantic task to make of the Church a powerful international monarchy, with its head at the old world-center, Rome; the difficulties in the way seemed, indeed, well-nigh insurmountable. The great archbishops, who were as jealous of the power of the Pope as the great vassals were of the kingly power, must be brought into subjection. National tendencies which made against the unity of the Church must be overcome. The control enjoyed by kings, princes, and other feudal lords in the selection of Church officials must be done away with. Simony, with its degrading influence, must be abolished. The marriage of the clergy must be checked, so that the property of the Church should not be dissipated. The whole body of church-

men, from the priest to the archbishop, must be redeemed from the immorality and worldliness which degraded them in the eyes of the people.

It is true that during the remainder of his life Henry III himself controlled the election of the popes, but he was sincerely and deeply interested in the betterment of the Church and took care to select able and independent German prelates to fill the papal office. Of these the most important was Leo IX (1049–1054). He was the first to show clearly how the Pope not only might become in time the real head and monarch of the Church but might also aspire to rule kings and emperors as well as bishops and abbots. Leo refused to regard himself as Pope simply because the Emperor had appointed him. He held that the Emperor should aid and protect popes but might not create them. So he entered Rome as a humble barefoot pilgrim and was duly elected by the Roman clergy according to the rule of the Church.

Leo IX undertook to visit France and Germany and even Hungary in person, with the purpose of calling councils to check simony and the marriage of the clergy. But this personal oversight on the part of the popes was not feasible in the long run, if for no other reason than because they were generally old men who would have found traveling arduous and often dangerous. Leo's successors relied upon legates, to whom they delegated extensive powers and whom they dispatched to all parts of western Europe in something the same way that Charlemagne had employed his *missi*. It is supposed that Leo IX was greatly influenced in his energetic policy by a certain subdeacon, Hildebrand by name. Hildebrand was himself destined to become one of the greatest popes, under the title of Gregory VII, and to play a part in the formation of the medieval Church which justifies us in ranking him, as a statesman, with Cæsar, Charlemagne, Richelieu, and Bismarck.

The first great step toward the emancipation of the Church from the control of the princes was taken by Nicholas II. In

1059 he issued a remarkable decree which took the election of the head of the Church once for all out of the hands of both the Emperor and the people of Rome and placed it definitely and forever in the hands of the *cardinals*, who represented the Roman clergy.[1] Obviously the object of this decree was to preclude all lay interference, whether of the distant Emperor, of the local nobility, or of the Roman mob. The college of cardinals still exists and still elects the Pope.

The reform party which directed the policy of the popes had, it hoped, freed the head of the Church from the control of worldly men by putting his election in the hands of the Roman clergy. It now proposed to emancipate the Church as a whole from the base entanglements of earth: first, by strictly forbidding the married clergy to perform religious functions and by exhorting their flocks to refuse to attend their ministrations; secondly, by depriving the kings and feudal lords of their influence over the choice of the bishops and abbots, since this influence was deemed the chief cause of worldliness among the prelates. Naturally these last measures met with far more general opposition than the new way of electing the Pope. An attempt to expel the married clergy from Milan led to a popular revolt. The decrees forbidding clergymen to receive their lands and offices from laymen received little attention from either the clergy or the feudal lords. The magnitude of the task which the popes had undertaken first became fully apparent when Hildebrand himself ascended the papal throne in 1073, as Gregory VII.

[1] The word "cardinal" (from the Latin *cardinalis*, "principal") was applied to the priests of the various parishes in Rome, to the several deacons connected with the Lateran,—which was the cathedral church of the Roman bishopric,—and, lastly, to six or seven suburban bishops who officiated in turn in the Lateran. The title became a very distinguished one and was sought by ambitious prelates and ecclesiastical statesmen, like Wolsey, Richelieu, and Mazarin. If their official titles were examined, it would be found that each was nominally a cardinal bishop, priest, or deacon of some Roman church. The number of cardinals varied, until fixed (in 1586) at six bishops, fifty priests, and fourteen deacons.

Among the writings of Gregory VII there is a very brief statement, called the *Dictatus*, of the powers which he believed the popes to possess. Its chief claims are the following: The Pope enjoys a unique title; he is the only universal bishop and may depose and reinstate other bishops or transfer them from place to place. No council of the Church may be regarded as speaking for Christendom without his consent. The Roman Church has never erred, nor will it err to all eternity. No one may be considered a Catholic Christian who does not agree with the Roman Church. No book is authoritative unless it has received the papal sanction.

Gregory does not stop with asserting the Pope's complete supremacy over the Church: he goes still farther, claiming for him the right to restrain the civil government when it seems necessary in the cause of righteousness. He says that "the Pope is the only person whose feet are kissed by all princes"; that he may depose emperors and "absolve subjects from allegiance to an unjust ruler." No one shall dare to condemn one who appeals to the Pope. No one may annul a decree of the Pope, though the Pope may declare null and void the decrees of all other earthly powers; and no one may pass judgment upon his acts.[1]

These are not the insolent claims of a reckless tyrant, but the expression of a theory of government which has had advocates among some of the most conscientious and learned men of all succeeding ages. Before venturing to criticize Gregory's view of his position we should recollect two important facts. In the first place, what most writers call the *state*, when dealing with the Middle Ages, was no orderly government in our sense of the world—it was represented only by restless feudal lords, to whom disorder was the very breath of life. When on one

[1] For the text of the *Dictatus* see *Readings*, chap. xiii. The most complete statement of Gregory's view of the responsibility of the papacy for the civil government is to be found in his famous letter to the bishop of Metz (1081) (*Readings*, chap xiii).

occasion Gregory declared the civil power to be the invention of evil men instigated by the devil, he was making a natural inference from what he observed of the conduct of the princes of his time. In the second place, it should be remembered that Gregory does not claim that the Church should manage the civil government, but that the papacy, which is answerable for the eternal welfare of every Christian, should have the right to restrain a sinful and perverse prince and to refuse to recognize unrighteous laws. Should all else fail, he claimed the right to free from its allegiance to a wicked monarch a nation which was being led to disaster in this world and to perdition in the next.

Immediately upon his election as Pope, Gregory began to put into practice his high conception of the rôle that the spiritual head of the world should play. He dispatched legates throughout Europe; and from this time on, papal legates became a powerful instrument of government. He warned the kings of France and England and the youthful German ruler, Henry IV, to forsake their evil ways, to be upright and just, and to obey his admonitions. He explains kindly but firmly to William the Conqueror that the papal and kingly powers are both established by God as the greatest among the authorities of the world, just as the sun and moon are the greatest of the heavenly bodies. But the papal power is obviously superior to the kingly, for it is responsible for it; at the Last Day, Gregory will be required to render an account of the king as one of the flock intrusted to his care. The king of France was warned to give up his practice of simony, lest he be excommunicated and his subjects freed from their oath of allegiance. All these acts of Gregory appear to have been dictated not by worldly ambition but by a fervent conviction of their righteousness and of his duty toward all men.

Obviously Gregory's plan of reform included all the states of western Europe, but conditions were such that the most striking conflict took place between him and the Emperor.

The trouble came about in this way. Henry III had died in 1056, leaving only his good wife Agnes and their little son of six years, Henry IV, to maintain the hard-fought prerogatives of the German king in the midst of ambitious vassals such as even Otto the Great had found it difficult to control.

In 1065 the fifteen-year-old lad was declared of age, and his lifelong difficulties began with a great rebellion of the Saxons. They accused the young king of having built castles in their land and of filling them with rough soldiers who preyed upon the people. Gregory felt it his duty to interfere. To him the Saxons appeared a people oppressed by a heedless youth under the influence of evil counselors.

As one reads of Henry's difficulties and misfortunes it seems miraculous that he was able to maintain himself as king at all. Sick at heart, unable to trust anyone, and forced to flee from his own subjects, he writes contritely to the Pope: "We have sinned against heaven and before thee and are no longer worthy to be called thy son." But when cheered for a moment by a victory over the rebellious Saxons, he easily forgot his promise of obedience to the Pope. He continued to associate with counselors whom the Pope had excommunicated, and went on filling important bishoprics in Germany and Italy regardless of the Pope's prohibitions.

The popes who immediately preceded Gregory had more than once forbidden the churchmen to receive investiture from laymen. Gregory reissued this prohibition in 1075,[1] just as the trouble with Henry had begun. Investiture was, as we have seen, the legal transfer by the king, or other lord, to a newly chosen church official, of the lands and rights attached to the office. In forbidding lay investiture Gregory attempted nothing less than a revolution. The bishops and abbots were often officers of government, exercising in Germany and Italy powers similar in all respects to those of the counts. The king not only relied upon them for advice and assistance in carrying

[1] Reissues of this decree in 1078 and 1080 are given in *Readings*, chap. xiii.

on his government, but they were among his chief allies in his constant struggles with his vassals.

Gregory dispatched three envoys to Henry (toward the end of 1075) with a fatherly letter in which he reproached the king for his wicked conduct. But he evidently had little expectation that mere expostulation would have any effect upon Henry, for he gave his legates instructions to use threats, if necessary, which were bound to produce either complete subjection or out-and-out revolt. The legates were to tell the king that his crimes were so numerous, so horrible, and so notorious that he merited not only excommunication but the permanent loss of all his royal honors.

The violence of the legates' language not only kindled the wrath of the king but also gained for him friends among the bishops. A council which Henry summoned at Worms (in 1076) was attended by more than two thirds of the German bishops. Here Gregory was declared deposed owing to the alleged irregularity of his election and the many terrible charges of immorality and ambition brought against him. The bishops renounced their obedience to him and publicly declared that he had ceased to be their pope. It appears very surprising, at first sight, that the king should have received the prompt support of the German churchmen against the head of the Church, but it must be remembered that the prelates owed their offices to the king and not to the Pope.

In a remarkable letter to Gregory, Henry asserts that he has shown himself long-suffering and eager to guard the honor of the papacy, but that the Pope has mistaken his humility for fear. The letter concludes thus:

> Thou hast not hesitated to rise up against the royal power conferred upon us by God, daring to threaten to deprive us of it, as if we had received our kingdom from thee. As if the kingdom and the Empire were in thine and not in God's hands . . . I, Henry, King by the grace of God, together with all our bishops, say unto thee, come down, come down from thy throne and be accursed of all generations.

Gregory's reply to Henry and the German bishops who had deposed him was speedy and decisive.

> Incline thine ear to us, O Peter, chief of the Apostles. As thy representative and by thy favor has the power been granted especially to me by God of binding and loosing in heaven and earth. On the strength of this, for the honor and glory of thy Church, in the name of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I withdraw, through thy power and authority, from Henry the King, son of Henry the Emperor, who has risen against thy Church with unheard-of-insolence, the rule over the whole kingdom of the Germans and over Italy. I absolve all Christians from the bonds of the oath which they have sworn, or may swear, to him; and I forbid anyone to serve him as king.

For his intercourse with the excommunicated and his manifold iniquities the king is furthermore declared accursed and excommunicated.[1]

For a time after the Pope had deposed him everything went against Henry. Even the churchmen now held off. Instead of resenting the Pope's interference, the discontented Saxons and many others of Henry's vassals believed that there was now an excellent opportunity to get rid of Henry and choose a more agreeable ruler. But after a long conference the great German vassals decided to give Henry another chance. He was to refrain from exercising the functions of government until he had made peace with the Pope. If at the end of a year he had failed to do this, he was to be regarded as having forfeited the throne. The Pope was, moreover, invited to come to Augsburg to consult with the princes as to whether Henry should be reinstated or another chosen in his stead. It looked as if the Pope were, in truth, to control the civil government.

Henry decided to anticipate the arrival of the Pope. He hastened across the Alps in midwinter and appeared as a humble suppliant before the castle of Canossa, whither the Pope

[1] Gregory's letter to Henry, and his deposition and excommunication of Henry, may be found in *Readings*, chap. xiii.

had come on his way to Augsburg. For three days the German king appeared before the closed door, barefoot and in the coarse garments of a pilgrim and a penitent, and even then Gregory was induced only by the expostulations of his influential companions to admit the humiliated ruler. The spectacle of this mighty prince of distinguished appearance, humiliated and in tears before the nervous little man who humbly styled himself the "servant of the servants of God," has always been regarded as most completely typifying the power of the Church and the potency of her curses, against which even the most exalted of the earth found no weapon of defense except abject penitence.[1]

The pardon which Henry received at Canossa did not satisfy the German princes, for their main object in demanding that he should reconcile himself with the Church had been to cause him additional embarrassment. They therefore proceeded to elect another ruler, and the next three or four years was a period of bloody struggles between the adherents of the rival kings. Gregory remained neutral until 1080, when he again "bound with the chain of anathema" Henry, "the so-called king," and all his followers. He declared him deprived of his royal power and dignity and forbade all Christians to obey him.

The new excommunication had precisely the opposite effect from the first one. Henry's friends increased rather than decreased. The German clergy were again aroused, and they again deposed "this same most brazen Hildebrand." Henry's rival fell in battle; and Henry, accompanied by an antipope, betook himself to Italy with the double purpose of putting his pope on the throne and winning the imperial crown. Gregory held out for no less than two years; but at last Rome fell into Henry's hands, and Gregory withdrew and soon died. His last words were, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile."

[1] For Gregory's own account of the affair at Canossa see *Readings*, chap. xiii.

The death of Gregory did not put an end to Henry's difficulties. He spent the remaining twenty years of his life in trying to maintain his rights as king against his rebellious subjects on both sides of the Alps. In Germany his chief enemies were the Saxons and his discontented vassals. In Italy the Pope was now actively engaged as a temporal ruler in building up a little state of his own. He was, moreover, always ready to encourage the cities of northern Italy (which were growing more and more powerful and less and less willing to submit to the rule of a German) in their opposition to the Emperor.

A combination of his Italian enemies called Henry again to Italy in 1090, although he was forced to leave Germany but half subdued. He was seriously defeated by the Italians, and the Lombard cities embraced the opportunity to form their first union against their foreign king. In 1093 Milan, Cremona, Lodi, and Piacenza joined in an offensive and defensive alliance for their own protection. After seven years of hopeless lingering in Italy, Henry returned sadly across the Alps, leaving the peninsula in the hands of his enemies. But he found no peace at home. His discontented German vassals induced his son, whom he had had crowned as his successor, to revolt against his father. Thereupon followed more civil war, more treason, and a miserable abdication. In 1106 death put an end to one of the saddest reigns that history records.

The achievement of the reign of Henry IV's son, Henry V, which chiefly interests us was the adjustment of the question of investitures. Pope Paschal II, while willing to recognize those bishops already chosen by the king, provided they were good men, proposed that thereafter Gregory's decrees against lay investiture should be carried out. The clergy should no longer do homage and lay their hands, consecrated to the service of the altar, in the blood-stained hands of the nobles. Henry V, on the other hand, declared that unless the clergy took the oath of fealty the bishops would not be given the lands, towns, castles, tolls, and privileges attached to the bishoprics.

After a succession of troubles a compromise was at last reached in the Concordat of Worms (1122), which put an end to the controversy over investitures in Germany.[1] The Emperor promised to permit the Church freely to elect the bishops and abbots, and renounced his old claim to invest with the spiritual emblems of the ring and the crosier. But the elections were to be held in the presence of the king; and he was permitted, in a separate ceremony, to invest the new bishop or abbot with his fiefs and secular prerogatives by a touch of the scepter. In this way the spiritual rights of the bishops were obviously conferred by the churchmen who elected him; and although the king might still practically invalidate an election by refusing to invest with the coveted temporal privileges, still the direct appointment of the bishops and abbots was taken out of his hands. As for the Emperor's control over the papacy, since the advent of Henry IV too many popes had been generally recognized as properly elected without the sanction of the Emperor for anyone to believe any longer that his sanction was necessary.

The Hohenstaufen Emperors and their Disappointments

Frederick I, nicknamed Barbarossa (Redbeard), who became king of Germany in 1152, is the most interesting of all the German emperors, and the records we have of his reign enable us to gain a very good view of Europe in the middle of the twelfth century. With his advent we feel that we are emerging from that long period which used to be known as the Dark Ages. Most of our knowledge of European history from the sixth to the twelfth century is derived from meager and unreliable monkish chronicles, whose authors were often ignorant and careless, and usually far away from the scenes of the events they recorded. In the latter half of the twelfth century,

[1] See *Readings*, chap. xiii.

however, information grows much more abundant and varied. We begin to have records of the town life and are no longer entirely dependent upon the monks' records. The first historian with a certain philosophic grasp of his theme was Otto of Freising. His *Life of Frederick Barbarossa* and his *Chronicon*, a history of the world, form invaluable sources of knowledge of the period we now enter.

Frederick's ambition was to raise the Roman Empire to its old glory and influence. He regarded himself as the successor of the Cæsars, of Justinian, of Charlemagne, and of Otto the Great. He believed his office to be quite as divinely established as the papacy. In announcing his election to the Pope he stated that the Empire had been "bestowed upon him by God," and he did not ask for the Pope's sanction, as his predecessors had done. But in his lifelong attempt to maintain what he assumed to be the rights of the Emperor he encountered all the old difficulties. He had to watch his rebellious vassals in Germany and meet the opposition of a series of unflinching popes, ready to defend the most exalted claims of the papacy. He found, moreover, in the cities of northern Italy, unconquerable foes who finally brought upon him a signal defeat.

One of the most striking differences between the ages before Frederick and the whole period since lies in the development of town life, with all that that implies. Up to this time we have heard only of emperors, popes, bishops, and feudal lords; from now on the cities must be reckoned with, as Frederick was to discover to his sorrow.[1]

After Charlemagne's time the government of the towns of Lombardy fell into the hands of their respective bishops, who exercised the prerogatives of counts. Under the bishops the towns flourished within their walls and also extended their control over the neighboring districts. As industry and commerce increased, the prosperous citizens, and the poorer classes as well, aspired to some control over the government. Cremona

[1] Something will be said of the medieval towns in Chapter XII.

very early expelled its bishop, destroyed his castle, and refused to pay him any dues. Later Henry IV stirred up Lucca against its bishop and promised that its liberties should never be interfered with henceforth by bishop, duke, or count. Other towns threw off the episcopal rule, and in nearly all of them the government came at last into the hands of municipal officials elected by those citizens who were permitted to have a hand in the government.

The more humble artisans were excluded altogether from a voice in city affairs. Their occasional revolts, as well as the feuds between the factions of the nobles, who took up their residence in the towns instead of remaining on their estates, produced a turmoil which we should think intolerable in our modern peaceful cities. This was greatly increased by bitter wars with neighboring towns. Yet, in spite of incredible disorder within and without, the Italian towns became centers of industry, learning, and art, unequaled in history except by the famous cities of Greece. They were able, moreover, to maintain their independence for several centuries. Frederick's difficulties in playing the Emperor in Italy were naturally greatly increased by the sturdy opposition of the Lombard towns, which could always count on a faithful ally in the Pope. He and they had a common interest in seeing that the power of the king of Germany remained purely nominal on their side of the mountains.

Milan was the most powerful of the Lombard towns and was heartily detested by her neighbors, over whom she was constantly endeavoring to extend her control. Two refugees from Lodi brought word of Milan's tyranny to the newly elected Emperor. When Frederick's representatives reached the offending city they were insulted, and the imperial seal was trampled in the dust. Like the other towns, Milan would acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor only so long as he made it no trouble. The wish to gain the imperial crown, and to see what this bold conduct of Milan meant, brought

Frederick to Italy in 1154 on the first of six expeditions, which together were to occupy many years of his reign.

Frederick pitched his camp in the plain of Roncaglia and there received representatives from the Lombard towns, who had many and grievous complaints to make of the conduct of

ITALIAN TOWNS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

their neighbors, especially of the arrogant Milan. We get a hint of the distant commerce of the maritime cities when we read that Genoa sent gifts of ostriches, lions, and parrots. Frederick made a momentary impression by proceeding, upon the complaint of Pavia, to besiege and destroy the town of Tortona. As soon as he moved on to Rome, Milan plucked up courage to punish two or three neighbors who had too enthusi-

astically supported the Emperor; it also lent a hand to Tortona's hapless citizens in rebuilding their city.

When Pope Hadrian IV and the Emperor first met, there was some bitter feeling because Frederick hesitated to hold the Pope's stirrup. He made no further objection, however, when he learned that it was the custom. Hadrian was relying upon his assistance, for Rome was in the midst of a remarkable revolution. Under the leadership of the famous Arnold of Brescia the city was attempting to reëstablish a government similar to that of the times when the Roman Senate ruled the Western world. It is needless to say that the attempt failed, though Frederick gave the Pope but little help against Arnold and the rebellious Romans. After receiving his crown the Emperor hastened back to Germany and left the disappointed Hadrian to deal with his refractory people as best he might. This desertion and later misunderstandings produced much ill feeling between the Pope and Frederick.

In 1158 Frederick was back in Italy and held another great assembly at Roncaglia. He summoned hither certain teachers of the Roman law from Bologna (where the revived study of the law was actively pursued), as well as representatives of the towns, to decide exactly what his rights as Emperor were. There was little danger but that those versed in a law which declared that "whatsoever the prince has willed has the force of law" would give the Emperor his due. His *regalia*, or governmental prerogatives, were declared to consist in feudal suzerainty over the various duchies and counties and in the right to appoint magistrates, collect tolls, impose an exceptional war tax, coin money, and enjoy the revenue from fisheries and from salt and silver mines. The Emperor greatly increased his revenue for the moment, but his extreme measures and the hated governors whom he appointed to represent him were bound to produce ultimate revolt. It became a matter of life and death to the Lombard towns to get rid of the imperial officials and taxgatherers.

The town of Cremona refused to level its walls at the command of the Emperor. It had to undergo a most terrible siege and finally succumbed. Its citizens were allowed to depart with nothing but their lives, and the place was given over to plunder and destruction. Then Milan drove the Emperor's deputies from the gates. A long siege brought even this proud city to terms, and the Emperor did not hesitate to order its destruction in spite of its commercial and political importance (1162). It is a melancholy commentary upon the relations between the various towns that Milan's neighbors begged to be permitted to carry out her annihilation. Her inhabitants were allowed to settle in the neighborhood of the spot where their prosperous city had stood; and from the rapidity with which they were able to rebuild it later, we may conclude that the demolition was not so thoroughgoing as some of the accounts imply.

The only hope for the Lombard towns was in *union*, which the Emperor had explicitly forbidden. Soon after Milan's destruction, measures were secretly taken to form the nucleus of what became later the great Lombard League. Cremona, Brescia, Mantua, and Bergamo joined together against the Emperor. Encouraged by the Pope and aided by the League, Milan was speedily rebuilt. Frederick, who had been engaged in conquering Rome with a view to placing an antipope on the throne of St. Peter, was glad in 1167 to escape the combined dangers of Roman fever and the wrath of the towns and get back to Germany. The League was extended to include Verona, Piacenza, Parma, and eventually many other towns.

After several years spent in regulating affairs in Germany, Frederick again appeared in Lombardy. The League got its forces together; and a great battle took place at Legnano, in 1176,—a really decisive conflict, which was rare enough in the Middle Ages. Frederick had been unable to get the reënforcements he wished from across the Alps, and under the energetic leadership of Milan the League so completely and hopelessly

defeated him that the question of the mastery in Lombardy was settled for some time in favor of the League.

A great congress was thereupon assembled at Venice; and here, under the auspices of Pope Alexander III, a truce was concluded, which was made a perpetual peace at Constance, in 1183. The towns received back practically all their rights and, upon formally acknowledging the Emperor's overlordship, were left by him to go their own way. Frederick was forced, moreover, humbly to recognize a pope that he had solemnly sworn should never be obeyed by him. The Pope and the towns had made common cause and enjoyed a common victory.

From this time on we find the name "Guelf" assumed by the party in Italy which was opposed to the emperors. This is but another form of the name of the Welf family, who made most of the trouble for the Hohenstaufens in Germany. A certain Welf had been made duke of Bavaria by Henry IV (in 1070). His grandson, Henry the Proud, became the son-in-law of the duke of Saxony and the heir to his great duchy. This, added to his other vast possessions, made him the most powerful and dangerous of the vassals of the Hohenstaufen emperors.[1]

On returning from his disastrous campaign against the Lombard towns, Frederick Barbarossa found himself at war with the Guelf leader, Henry the Lion (son of Henry the Proud), whom he defeated and banished. Frederick divided up the Saxon duchy; for his policy was to split up the old duchies, since he clearly saw the danger of permitting his vassals to control districts as large as he himself held.

Before his departure upon the crusading expedition during which he lost his life, Frederick saw his son, Henry VI, crowned king of Italy. Moreover, in order to extend the power of the Hohenstaufens over southern Italy, he arranged a mar-

[1] The origin of the term "Ghibelline," applied to the adherents of the Emperor in Italy, is not known; it may be derived from "Waiblingen," the name of a castle of the Hohenstaufens.

riage between the young Henry and Constance, the heiress to the Norman kingdom of Naples and Sicily.[1] Thus the hopeless attempt to keep both Germany and Italy under the same head was continued. It brought about new conflicts with the popes, who were the feudal suzerains of Naples and Sicily, and ended in the ruin of the House of Hohenstaufen.

Henry VI's short reign was beset with difficulties which he sturdily met and overcame. Henry the Lion, the Guelf leader, having broken the oath he had sworn to Frederick to keep away from Germany, returned and organized a rebellion. So soon as this was quelled and the Guelf party was under control for a time, Henry VI had to hasten south to rescue his Sicilian kingdom. The Pope, who regarded Sicily as his fief, had freed the Emperor's Norman subjects from their oath of fidelity to him. Moreover, Richard the Lion-Hearted of England had landed on his way to the Holy Land and allied himself with the Emperor's enemies.

Henry VI's expedition to Italy proved a complete disaster. His army largely perished by sickness, and Henry the Lion's son, whom he held as a hostage, escaped. To add to his troubles, no sooner had he reached Germany once more than he was confronted by a new and more formidable revolt (1192). Luckily for him, Richard, stealing home through Germany from his crusade, fell into his hands. He held the English king as an ally of the Guelfs until he obtained an enormous ransom, which supplied him with the means of fighting his

[1] The attention of the adventurous Normans had been called to southern Italy early in the eleventh century by some of their people who, in their wanderings, had been stranded there and had found plenty of opportunities to fight under agreeable conditions for one or another of the local rival princes. From marauding mercenaries, they soon became the ruling race. They extended their conquests from the mainland to Sicily, and by 1140 they had united all southern Italy into a single kingdom. The popes had naturally taken a lively interest in the new and strong power upon the confines of their realms. They skillfully arranged to secure a certain hold upon the growing kingdom by inducing Robert Guiscard, the most famous of the Norman leaders, to recognize the Pope as his feudal lord; in 1059 the Norman ruler became the vassal of Nicholas II.

enemies in both Germany and Italy. Later he regained his realms in southern Italy. But he endeavored in vain to induce the German princes to recognize the permanent union of the southern Italian kingdom with Germany or to make the imperial crown hereditary in his house.

Innocent III, the Arbiter of Europe

At the age of thirty-two, in the midst of plans for a world empire, Henry VI succumbed to Italian fever, leaving the fate of the Hohenstaufen family in the hands of his infant son, who was to become the famous Frederick II. At the same moment the greatest, perhaps, of all the popes was about to ascend the throne of St. Peter and, for nearly a score of years, to dominate the political affairs of western Europe. For a time the political power of the popes almost overshadows that of a Charlemagne or a Napoleon. In a later chapter a description will be given of the great institution over which Innocent III presided (1198–1216) like a monarch upon his throne; but first we must follow the history of the struggle between the papacy and the House of Hohenstaufen during the remarkable career of Frederick II.

No sooner was Henry VI out of the way than Germany became, in the words of Henry's brother Philip, "like a sea lashed by every wind." So wild was the confusion, so torn and so shaken was poor Germany in all its parts, that farsighted men doubted if they should ever see it return to peace and order. Philip first proposed to play the rôle of regent to his little nephew, Frederick II; but before long he assumed the imperial prerogatives, after being duly elected king of the Romans. The archbishop of Cologne, however, summoned an assembly and brought about the election of a rival king, Otto of Brunswick, the youthful son of Henry the Lion.

So the old struggle between Guelf and Hohenstaufen was renewed. Both the kings bid for the support of Innocent III,

who openly proclaimed that the decision of the matter lay with him. Since the Pope naturally feared a revival of the power of the Hohenstaufen House should Philip be recognized, he decided, in 1201, in favor of the Guelf claimant. Innocent appears here, as upon other occasions, as the arbiter of Europe.

In the dreary civil wars which followed in Germany, Otto gradually lost all his friends. Innocent himself finally repudiated Otto, in whom he claimed to have "been deceived as God himself was once deceived in Saul." He determined that the young Frederick should be made Emperor, but he took great precautions to prevent him from becoming a dangerous enemy of the Pope, as his father and grandfather had been. When Frederick was elected king in 1212, he made all the promises that Innocent asked.

While the Pope had been guiding the affairs of the Empire he had by no means neglected to exhibit his power in other quarters, least of all in England. The monks of Canterbury had (1205) ventured to choose an archbishop—who was at the same time their abbot—without consulting their king, John. Their appointee hastened off to Rome to gain the Pope's confirmation, while the irritated John forced the monks to hold another election and make his treasurer archbishop. Innocent thereupon rejected both of those who had been elected, sent for a new deputation of monks from Canterbury, and bade them choose Stephen Langton, a man of great ability. John then angrily drove the monks of Canterbury out of the kingdom. Innocent replied by placing England under the *interdict*; that is to say, he ordered the clergy to close all the churches and suspend all public services—a very terrible thing to the people of the time. John was excommunicated, and the Pope threatened that unless the king submitted to his wishes he would depose him and give his crown to Philip Augustus of France. As Philip made haste to collect an army for the conquest of England, John humbly submitted to the Pope, in 1213. The king went so far as to hand England over to Innocent III

and receive it back as a fief, thus becoming the vassal of the Pope. He agreed also to send a yearly tribute to Rome.

Innocent, in spite of several setbacks, now appeared to have attained all his ambitious ends. Emperor Frederick II was his protégé and, as king of Sicily, his acknowledged vassal, as was also the king of England. He not only asserted but also maintained his right to interfere in all the important political affairs of the various European countries. In 1215 a stately international congress—the fourth Lateran Council—met in his palace. It was attended by hundreds of bishops, abbots, and representatives of kings, princes, and towns. Its decrees were directed against the abuses in the Church and the progress of heresy, both of which were seriously threatening the power of the clergy. It confirmed the election of Frederick II as Emperor and excommunicated once more the now completely discredited Otto.

Innocent III died during the following year and left a heritage of trouble to his successors in the person of the former papal ward, Frederick II, who was little inclined to obey the Pope. Frederick had been brought up in Sicily and was much influenced by the Arabic culture which prevailed there. He appears to have rejected many of the received opinions of the time. His enemies asserted that he was not even a Christian, and that he declared Moses, Christ, and Mohammed to be all alike impostors. He was nearsighted, bald, and wholly insignificant in person; but he exhibited the most extraordinary energy and ability in the organization of his kingdom of Sicily, in which he was far more interested than in Germany. He drew up an elaborate code of laws for his southern realms and may be said to have founded the first modern well-regulated state, in which the king was indisputably supreme.

We cannot stop to relate the romantic and absorbing story of his long struggle with the popes. They speedily discovered that he was bent upon establishing a powerful state to the south of them and upon extending his control over the Lombard

cities in such a manner that the papal possessions would be held as in a vise. This, they felt, should never be permitted. Almost every measure that Frederick adopted aroused their suspicion and opposition, and they made every effort to destroy him and his house.

His chance of success in the conflict with the head of the Church was gravely affected by the promise which he had made before Innocent III's death to undertake a crusade. He was so busily engaged with his endless enterprises that he kept deferring the expedition, in spite of the papal admonitions, until at last the Pope lost patience and excommunicated him. While excommunicate, he at last started for the East. He met with signal success and actually brought Jerusalem, the Holy City, once more into Christian hands and was himself recognized as king of Jerusalem.

Frederick's conduct continued, however, to give offense to the popes. The Emperor was denounced in solemn councils, and at last the popes began to raise up rival kings in Germany to replace Frederick, whom they deposed. After Frederick died (1250) his sons maintained themselves for a few years in the Sicilian kingdom; but they finally gave way before a French army, led by the brother of St. Louis, Charles of Anjou, upon whom the Pope bestowed the southern realms of the Hohenstaufens.

With Frederick's death the medieval empire may be said to have come to an end. It is true that after a period of "fist law," as the Germans call it, a new king, Rudolf of Hapsburg, was elected in Germany, in 1273. The German kings continued to call themselves emperors. Few of them, however, took the trouble to go to Rome to be crowned by the Pope. No serious effort was ever made to reconquer the Italian territory for which Otto the Great, Frederick Barbarossa, and his son and grandson had made such serious sacrifices. Germany was hopelessly divided, and its king was no real king. He had no capital, no well-organized government.

By the middle of the thirteenth century it became apparent that neither Germany nor Italy was to be converted into a strong, single kingdom like England and France. The map of Germany shows a confused group of duchies, counties, archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies, and free towns, each one of which asserted its practical independence of the weak king and Emperor.

In northern Italy each town, including a certain district about its walls, had become an independent state, dealing with its neighbors as with independent powers. The Italian towns were destined, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to become the birthplace of our modern culture. Venice and Florence, in spite of their small size, came to be reckoned among the most important states of Europe. In the central part of the peninsula the Pope maintained more or less control over his possessions, but he often failed to subdue the towns within his realms. To the south Naples remained for some time under the French dynasty, which the Pope had called in, but the island of Sicily drifted into Spanish hands.

CHAPTER X

THE CRUSADES

How the Crusades Started

Of all the events of the Middle Ages the most romantic and fascinating are the Crusades, the adventurous expeditions to Syria undertaken by kings and doughty knights with the hope of permanently reclaiming the Holy Land from the infidel Turks. All through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries each generation beheld at least one great army of crusaders gathering from all parts of the West and starting toward the Orient. Each year witnessed the departure of small bands of pilgrims or of solitary soldiers of the cross. For two hundred years there was a continuous stream of Europeans of every rank and station making their way into Western Asia. If they escaped the countless hazards of the journey, they either settled in this distant land and devoted themselves to war or commerce, or returned home bringing with them tales of great cities and new peoples, of skill and luxury unknown in the West.

Our sources of information in regard to the Crusades are so abundant and so rich in picturesque incidents that writers have often yielded to the temptation to give more space to these expeditions than their consequences really justify. They were, after all, only one of the great foreign enterprises which have been undertaken from time to time by the European peoples. While their influence upon the West was doubtless very important,—like that of the later conquest of India by the English, and the colonization of America,—the details of the campaigns in the East scarcely belong to the history of western Europe.

Syria had been overrun by the Arabs in the seventh century, shortly after the death of Mohammed, and the Holy City of Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the infidels. The Arab, however, shared the veneration of the Christian for the places associated with the life of Christ and, in general, permitted the Christian pilgrims who found their way thither to worship unmolested. But with the coming of a new and ruder people, the Seljuk Turks, in the eleventh century, the pilgrims began to bring home news of great hardships. Moreover, the Eastern Emperor was defeated by the Turks in 1071 and lost Asia Minor. The presence of the Turks in possession of the fortress of Nicæa, just across from Constantinople, was, of course, a standing menace to the Eastern Empire. When the energetic Emperor Alexius (1081–1118) ascended the throne, he endeavored to expel the infidel. Finding himself unequal to the task, he appealed for assistance to the head of Christendom, Pope Urban II. The first great impetus to the Crusades was the call issued by Urban at the celebrated council which met in 1095 at Clermont, in France.

In an address which produced more remarkable immediate results than any other which history records, the Pope exhorted knights and foot soldiers of all ranks to give up their usual wicked business of destroying their Christian brethren in private warfare and turn instead to the succor of their fellow Christians in the East; otherwise the insolent Turks would, if unchecked, extend their sway still more widely over the faithful servants of the Lord. "Let the Holy Sepulcher of the Lord our Saviour, which is possessed by unclean nations, especially urge you on, and the holy places which they are now treating with ignominy and irreverently defiling." Urban urged besides that France was too poor to support all its people, whereas the Holy Land flowed with milk and honey. "Enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulcher; wrest the land from the wicked race and subject it to yourselves." When the Pope had finished, all who were present exclaimed, with one accord, "It

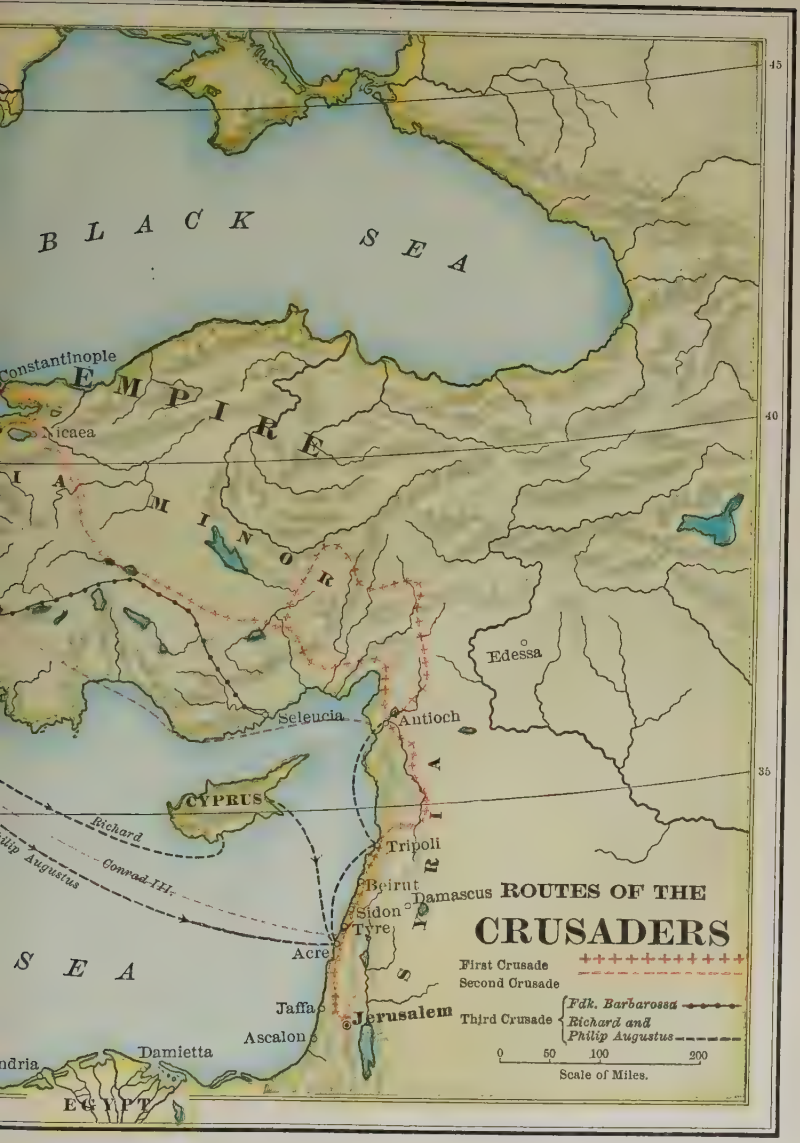
is the will of God." This, the Pope declared, should be the rallying cry of the crusaders, who were to wear a cross upon their bosoms as they went forth, and upon their backs as they returned, as a holy sign of their sacred mission.[1]

The Crusades are ordinarily represented as the most striking examples of the simple faith and religious enthusiasm of the Middle Ages. They appealed, however, to many different kinds of men. The devout, the romantic, and the adventurous were by no means the only classes that were attracted. Syria held out inducements to the discontented noble who might hope to gain a principality in the East, to the merchant who was looking for new enterprises, to the merely restless who wished to avoid their responsibilities at home, and even to the criminal who enlisted with a view to escaping the results of his past offenses. It is noteworthy that Urban appeals especially to those who had been "contending against their brethren and relatives," and urges those "who have hitherto been robbers now to become soldiers of Christ." The conduct of many of the crusaders indicates that the Pope found a ready hearing among this class. But other motives than a love of adventure and the hope of conquest impelled many who took their way eastward. Great numbers, doubtless, went to Jerusalem "through devotion alone, and not for the sake of honor or gain," with the sole object of freeing the Holy Sepulcher from the hands of the infidel.

To such as these the Pope promised that the journey itself should take the place of all penance for sin. The faithful crusader, like the faithful Mohammedan, was assured of immediate entrance into heaven if he died repentant in the holy cause. Later the Church exhibited its extraordinary authority by what would seem to us an unjust interference with business contracts. It freed those who "with pure heart" entered upon the journey from the payment of interest upon their debts, and permitted them to mortgage property against the wishes

[1] For the speech of Urban see *Readings*, chap. xv.

Venice
HUNGARY
Danube
River
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
Raymond of Toulouse
Godfrey of Boullogne
BULGARIA
Frk. Barbarossa
APULIA
Naples
Bari
North French
Durazzo
MACEDONIA
EASTER
Brindisi
Normans
Thessalonica
Otranto
CALABRIA
Richard
Philip Augustus
IONIAN SEA
EPIRUS
AEGEAN SEA
HELLAS
Reggio
SICILY
MALTA
Richard and Philip Augustus — 1191
CRETE
MEDITERRANEA
45
40
35
M.-N. ENG., BUFFALO.


BLACK SEA
EMPIRE
MINOR
Edessa
Seleucia
Antioch
CYPRUS
Tripoli
Beirut
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Acre
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Damietta
EGYPT
SEA
Richard
Conrad III.
ROUTES OF THE
CRUSADERS
First Crusade
Second Crusade
Third Crusade
Fdk. Barbarossa
Richard and
Philip Augustus
0 50 100 200
Scale of Miles.

of their feudal lords. The crusaders' wives and children and property were taken under the immediate protection of the Church, and he who troubled them incurred excommunication. These various considerations help to explain the great popularity of undertakings that, at first sight, would seem to have promised only hardships and disappointment.

The First Crusade

The Council of Clermont met in November. Before spring (1096) those who set forth to preach the Crusade, above all the famous Peter the Hermit, who was formerly given credit for having begun the whole crusading movement, had collected, in France and along the Rhine, an extraordinary army of the common folk. Peasants, artisans, vagabonds, and even women and children answered the summons, all fanatically intent upon rescuing the Holy Sepulcher, two thousand miles away. They were confident that the Lord would sustain them during the weary leagues of the journey and grant them a prompt victory over the infidel. The host was got under way in several divisions under the leadership of Peter the Hermit and of Walter the Penniless and other humble knights. Many of the crusaders were slaughtered by the Hungarians, who rose to protect their property from the depredations of this motley horde. Part of them got as far as Nicæa, only to be slaughtered by the Turks. This is but an example, on a large scale, of what was going on continually for a century or so after this first great catastrophe. Individual pilgrims and adventurers, and sometimes considerable bodies of crusaders, were constantly falling a prey to every form of disaster—starvation, slavery, disease, and death—in their endeavors to reach the Holy Land.

The conspicuous figures of the long period of the Crusades are not, however, to be found among the lowly followers of Peter the Hermit but are the knights, in their long coats of flexible armor. A year after the summons issued at Clermont

great armies of fighting men had been collected in the West under princely leaders; the Pope speaks of three hundred thousand soldiers. Of the various divisions which were to meet in Constantinople the following were the most important: the volunteers from Provence under the papal legate and Count Raymond of Toulouse; inhabitants of Germany, particularly of Lorraine, under Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin, both destined to be rulers of Jerusalem; and, lastly, an army of French and of the Normans of southern Italy under Bohemond and Tancred.[1]

The distinguished knights who have been mentioned were not actually in command of real armies. Each crusader undertook the expedition on his own account and was obedient to anyone's orders only so long as he pleased. The knights and men naturally grouped themselves around the more noted leaders, but considered themselves free to change chiefs when they pleased. The leaders themselves reserved the right to look out for their own special interests rather than sacrifice themselves to the good of the expedition.

Upon the arrival of the crusaders at Constantinople it quickly became clear that they had little more in common with the "Greeks" than with the Turks. Emperor Alexius ordered his soldiers to attack Godfrey's army, encamped in the suburbs of his capital, because their chief at first refused to take the oath of feudal homage to him. The Emperor's daughter, in her remarkable history of the times, gives a sad picture of the outrageous conduct of the crusaders. They, on the other hand, denounced the "schismatic Greeks" as traitors, cowards, and liars.

The Eastern Emperor had hoped to use his Western allies to reconquer Asia Minor and force back the Turks. The leading knights, on the contrary, dreamed of carving out principalities for themselves in the former dominions of the Emperor and

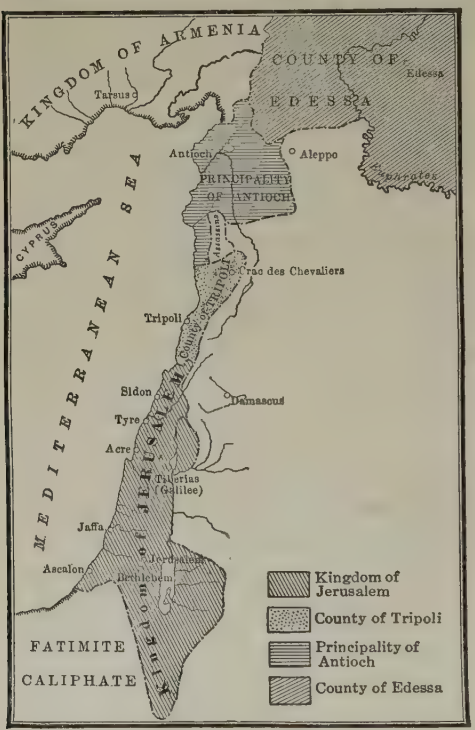
[1] For the routes taken by the different crusading armies see map following page 216.

proposed to control them by right of conquest. Later we find both Greeks and Western Christians shamelessly allying themselves with the Mohammedans against each other. The relations of the Eastern and Western enemies of the Turks were well illustrated when the crusaders besieged their first town, Nicæa. When it was just ready to surrender, the Greeks arranged with the enemy to have their troops admitted first. They then closed the gates against their Western confederates and invited them to move on.

The first real allies that the crusaders met with were the Christian Armenians, who brought them aid after their terrible march through Asia Minor. With their help Baldwin got possession of Edessa, of which he made himself prince. The chiefs induced the great body of the crusaders to postpone the march on Jerusalem, and a year was spent in taking the rich and important city of Antioch. A bitter strife then broke out, especially between the Norman Bohemond and the count of Toulouse, as to who should have the conquered town. After the most unworthy conduct on both sides, Bohemond won, and Raymond set to work to conquer a principality for himself on the coast about Tripoli (see map, p. 220).

In the spring of 1099 about twenty thousand warriors finally moved upon Jerusalem. They found the city well walled and in the midst of a desolate region where neither food nor water, nor the materials to construct the apparatus necessary for the capture of the town, were to be found. The opportune arrival at Jaffa of galleys from Genoa furnished the besiegers with supplies, and in spite of all the difficulties the place was taken in a couple of months. The crusaders, with their customary barbarity, massacred the inhabitants. Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen ruler of Jerusalem and took the modest title of "Defender of the Holy Sepulcher." He soon died and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, who left Edessa in 1100 to take up the task of extending the bounds of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

It will be observed that the "Franks," as the Mohammedans called all the Western folk, had established the centers of four principalities. These were Edessa, Antioch, the region about Tripoli conquered by Raymond, and the kingdom of Jerusalem. The last was speedily enlarged by Baldwin; with the help of the mariners from Venice and Genoa he succeeded in getting possession of Acre, Sidon, and a number of coast towns.



MAP OF THE CRUSADERS' STATES IN SYRIA

The news of these Christian victories quickly reached the West, and in 1101 tens of thousands of new crusaders started eastward. Most of them were lost or dispersed in passing through Asia Minor, and few reached their destination. The original conquerors were consequently left to hold the land against the "Saracens," as the Mohammedans are often called, and to organize their conquests as best they could.

The permanent hold of the Franks upon the eastern borders of the Mediterranean depended upon the strength of the colonies which their various princes were able to establish. It is impossible to learn how many pilgrims from the West made their permanent homes in the new Latin principalities. Cer-

tainly the greater part of those who visited Palestine returned home after fulfilling their vow to kneel at the Holy Sepulcher. Still the princes could rely upon a certain number of soldiers who would be willing to stay and fight the Mohammedans. The Turks, moreover, were so busy fighting one another that they showed less energy than might have been expected in attempting to drive the Franks from the narrow strip of territory —some five hundred miles long and fifty wide—which they had conquered.

Hospitalers and Templars

A noteworthy outcome of the crusading movement was the foundation of several curious orders—the Hospitalers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights—which combined the dominant interests of the time, those of the monk and the soldier. They permitted a man to be both at once; the knight might wear a monkish cowl over his coat of mail. The Hospitalers grew out of a monastic association that was formed before the First Crusade for the succor of the poor and sick among the pilgrims. Later the society admitted knights to its membership and thus became a military order, while continuing its care for the sick. This charitable association, like the earlier monasteries, received generous gifts of land in western Europe and built and controlled many fortified monasteries in the Holy Land itself. After the evacuation of Syria in the thirteenth century the Hospitalers moved their headquarters to the island of Rhodes, and later to Malta. The order still exists, and it is considered a distinction to this day to have the privilege of wearing its emblem, the cross of Malta.

Before the Hospitalers were transformed into a military order a little group of French knights banded together, in 1119, to defend pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem from the attacks of the infidel. They were assigned quarters in the king's palace at Jerusalem, on the site of the former Temple of Solomon; hence the name "Templars," which they were des-

tined to render famous. The "poor soldiers of the Temple" were enthusiastically approved by the Church. They wore a white cloak adorned with a red cross and were under a very strict monastic rule which bound them by the vows of obedience, poverty, and celibacy. The fame of the order spread throughout Europe; and the most exalted were ready to renounce the world and serve Christ under its black-and-white banner with the legend *Non nobis, Domine.*

The order was aristocratic from the first, and it soon became incredibly rich and independent. It had its collectors in all parts of Europe, who dispatched the "alms" they received to the Grand Master at Jerusalem. Towns, churches, and estates were given to the order, as well as vast sums of money. The king of Aragon proposed to bestow upon it a third of his kingdom. The Pope showered privileges upon the Templars. They were exempted from tithes and taxes and were brought under his immediate jurisdiction; they were released from feudal obligations, and bishops were forbidden to excommunicate them.

No wonder they grew insolent and aroused the jealousy and hate of princes and prelates alike. Even Innocent III violently upbraided them for admitting to their order wicked men, who then enjoyed all the privileges of churchmen. Early in the fourteenth century, through the combined efforts of the Pope and Philip the Fair of France, the order was brought to a terrible end. Its members were accused of the most abominable practices, such as heresy, the worship of idols, and the systematic insulting of Christ and his religion. Many distinguished Templars were burned for heresy; others perished miserably in dungeons. The order was abolished and its property confiscated.

As for the third great order, that of the Teutonic Knights, their greatest importance lies in their conquest, after the Crusades were over, of the heathen Prussians. Through their efforts a new Christian state was formed on the shores of the Baltic, in which the important cities of Königsberg and Danzig grew up. And from this region modern Prussia has its name.

The Second and Later Crusades

Fifty years after the preaching of the First Crusade, the fall of Edessa (1144), an important outpost of the Christians in the East, led to a second great expedition. This was forwarded by no less a person than St. Bernard, who went about using his unrivaled eloquence to induce volunteers to take the cross. In a fierce hymn of battle he cried to the Knights Templars: "The Christian who slays the unbeliever in the Holy War is sure of his reward, the more sure if he himself be slain. The Christian glories in the death of the pagan, because Christ is glorified." The king of France readily consented to take the cross, but the Emperor, Conrad III, appears to have yielded only after St. Bernard had preached before him and given a vivid picture of the terrors of the Judgment Day.

In regard to the less distinguished recruits the historian Otto of Freising tells us that so many thieves and robbers hastened to take the cross that everyone recognized in their enthusiasm the hand of God. St. Bernard himself, the chief promoter of the expedition, gives a most unflattering description of the "soldiers of Christ." "In that countless multitude you will find few except the utterly wicked and impious, the sacrilegious, homicides, and perjurers, whose departure is a double gain. Europe rejoices to lose them and Palestine to gain them; they are useful in both ways, in their absence from here and their presence there." It is quite unnecessary to describe the movements and fate of the crusaders; suffice it to say that from a military standpoint the so-called Second Crusade was a miserable failure.

Forty years later, in 1187, Jerusalem was taken by Saladin, the most heroic and distinguished of all the Saracen rulers. The loss of the Holy City led to the most famous of all the military expeditions to the Holy Land, in which Frederick Barbarossa, Richard the Lion-Hearted of England, and his political rival, Philip Augustus of France, all took part. The

accounts of the enterprise show that while the several Christian leaders hated one another heartily enough, the Christians and Saracens, on the other hand, were coming to respect one another. We find examples of the most courtly relations between the representatives of the opposing religions. In 1192 Richard concluded a truce with Saladin, by the terms of which the Christian pilgrims were allowed to visit the holy places with safety and comfort.

In the thirteenth century the crusaders began to direct their expeditions toward Egypt as the center of the Saracen power. The first of these was diverted in an extraordinary manner by the Venetians, who induced the crusaders to conquer Constantinople for their benefit. The further expeditions of Frederick II and St. Louis need not be described. Jerusalem was irrevocably lost in 1244; and although the possibility of recovering the city was long considered, the Crusades may be said to have come to a close before the end of the thirteenth century.

Some Results of the Expeditions to Palestine

For one class, at least, the Holy Land had great and permanent charms; namely, the Italian merchants, especially those from Genoa, Venice, and Pisa. It was through their early interest and supplies from their ships that the conquest of the Holy Land had been rendered possible. The merchants were always careful to see that they were well paid for their services. When they aided in the successful siege of a town, they arranged that a definite quarter should be assigned to them in the captured place, where they might have their market, docks, church, and all that was necessary for a permanent center for their commerce. This district belonged to the town to which the merchants belonged. Venice even sent governors to live in the quarters assigned to its citizens in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Marseille also had independent quarters in Jerusalem, and Genoa had its share in the county of Tripoli.

This new commerce had a most important influence in bringing the West into permanent relations with the Orient. Eastern products from India and elsewhere—silks, spices, camphor, musk, pearls, and ivory—were brought by the Mohammedans from the East to the commercial towns of Palestine and Syria; then, through the Italian merchants, they found their way into France and Germany, suggesting ideas of luxury hitherto scarcely dreamed of by the still half-barbarous Franks.

Some of the results of the Crusades upon western Europe must already be obvious, even from this very brief account. Thousands and thousands of Frenchmen, Germans, and Englishmen had traveled to the Orient by land and by sea. Most of them came from hamlets or castles where they could never have learned much of the great world beyond the confines of their native village or province. They suddenly found themselves in great cities and in the midst of unfamiliar peoples and customs. This could not fail to make them think and give them new ideas to carry home. The Crusade took the place of a liberal education. The crusaders came into contact with those who knew more than they did, above all with the Arabs, and brought back with them new notions of comfort and luxury.

Yet in attempting to estimate the debt of the West to the Crusades it should be remembered that many of the new things may well have come from Constantinople or through the Saracens of Sicily and Spain quite independently of the armed incursions into Syria. Moreover, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries towns were rapidly growing up in Europe, trade and manufactures were extending, and the universities were being founded. It would be absurd to suppose that without the Crusades this progress would not have taken place. So we may conclude that the distant expeditions and the contact with strange and more highly civilized peoples did no more than hasten the improvement which was already perceptible before Urban made his ever-memorable address at Clermont.

CHAPTER XI

THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH AT ITS HEIGHT

The Great International Ecclesiastical Monarchy

In the preceding pages it has been necessary to refer constantly to the Church and the clergy. Indeed, without them medieval history would become almost a blank; for the Church was incomparably the most important institution of the time, and its officers were the soul of nearly every great enterprise. In the earlier chapters the rise of the Church and of its head, the Pope, has been reviewed, as well as the work of the monks as they spread over Europe. We must now consider the medieval Church as a completed institution at the height of its power in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

We have already had abundant proofs that the medieval Church was very different from modern churches, whether Catholic or Protestant.

1. In the first place, everyone was required to belong to it, just as we all must belong to the state today. One was not born into the Church, it is true, but he was ordinarily baptized into it before he had any opinion in the matter. All western Europe formed a single religious association, from which it was a crime to revolt. To refuse allegiance to the Church or to question its authority or teachings was reputed treason against God and was punishable with death.

2. The medieval Church did not rely for its support, as churches usually must today, upon the voluntary contributions of its members. It enjoyed, in addition to the revenue from its vast tracts of lands and a great variety of fees, the income from a regular tax, the *tithe* (derived from the Old Testament).

Those upon whom this fell were forced to pay it, just as we all must now pay taxes imposed by the government.

3. It is obvious, moreover, that the medieval Church was not merely a religious body, as churches are today. Of course it maintained places of worship, conducted devotional exercises, and cultivated the spiritual life; but it did far more. It was, in a way, a *state*, for it had an elaborate system of law and its own courts, in which it tried many cases which are now settled in our ordinary tribunals. It had also its prisons, to which it might sentence offenders to lifelong detention.

The law of the Church was known as the *canon law*. It was taught in most of the universities and practiced by a great number of lawyers. It was based upon the acts of the various Church councils, from that of Nicæa down, and, above all, upon the decrees and decisions of the popes. One may get some idea of the business of the ecclesiastical courts from the fact that the Church claimed the right to try all cases in which a clergyman was involved, or anyone connected with the Church or under its special protection, such as monks, students, crusaders, widows, orphans, and the helpless. Then all cases in which the sanctions of the Church or its prohibitions were involved came ordinarily before the Church courts; for example, those concerning marriage, wills, sworn contracts, usury, blasphemy, sorcery, heresy, and so forth.

4. The Church not only performed the functions of a state but it had the organization of a state. Unlike the Protestant ministers of today, all churchmen and religious associations of medieval Europe were under one supreme head, who made laws for all and controlled every Church officer, wherever he might be, whether in Italy or Germany, Spain or Ireland. The whole Church had one official language, Latin, in which all communications were dispatched and in which its services were everywhere conducted.

The medieval Church may therefore properly be called a monarchy in its government. The Pope was its all-powerful

and absolute head and concentrated in his person its entire spiritual and disciplinary authority. He was the supreme lawgiver. No council of the Church, no matter how large and important, could make laws against his will; for its decrees, to be valid, required his sanction.

The Pope might, moreover, set aside or abrogate any law of the Church, no matter how ancient, so long as it was not ordained by the Scriptures or by nature. He might, for good reasons, make exceptions to all merely human laws; for instance, permit cousins to marry, or free a monk from his vows. Such exceptions were known as *dispensations*.

The Pope was not merely the supreme lawgiver; he was the supreme judge. As a distinguished legal writer has said, the whole of western Europe was subject to the jurisdiction of one tribunal of last resort, the Pope's court at Rome. Anyone, whether clergyman or layman, in any part of Europe, could appeal to him at any stage in the trial of a large class of cases. Obviously this system had serious drawbacks. Grave injustice might be done by carrying to Rome a case which ought to have been settled in Edinburgh or Cologne, where the facts were best known. The rich, moreover, always had the advantage, as they alone could afford to bring suits before so distant a court.

The control of the Pope over the clergy scattered throughout Christendom was secured in several ways. A newly elected archbishop might not venture to perform any of the duties of his office until he had taken an oath of fidelity and obedience to the Pope and received from him the *pallium*, the archbishop's badge of office. This was a narrow woolen scarf made by the nuns of the convent of St. Agnes at Rome. Bishops and abbots were also required to have their election duly confirmed by the Pope. He claimed, too, the right to settle the very frequent disputed elections of Church officials. He might even set aside both of the rival candidates and fill the office himself, as did Innocent III when he forced the monks of Canterbury, after a doubtful election, to choose Stephen Langton.

Since the time of Gregory VII the Pope had claimed the right to depose and transfer bishops at will. The control of Rome over all parts of the Christian Church was further increased by the legates. These papal emissaries were intrusted with great powers. Their haughty mien often enough offended the prelates and rulers to whom they brought home the authority of the Pope; for instance, when the legate Pandulf grandly absolved all the subjects of King John of England, before his very face, from their oath of fealty to him.

The task assumed by the Pope of governing the whole Western world naturally made it necessary to create a large body of officials at Rome in order to transact all the multiform business and prepare and transmit the innumerable legal documents.[1] The cardinals and the Pope's officials constituted what was called the papal *curia*, or court.

To carry on his government and meet the expenses of palace and retinue, the Pope had need of a vast income. This he secured from various sources. Heavy fees were exacted from those who brought suits to his court for decision. The archbishops were expected to make generous contributions on receiving their palliums, and the bishops and abbots upon their confirmation. In the thirteenth century the Pope began himself to fill many benefices throughout Europe, and he customarily received half the first year's revenues from those whom he appointed. For several centuries before the Protestants finally threw off their allegiance to the popes there was widespread complaint on the part of both clergy and laymen that the fees and taxes levied by the papal curia were excessive.

Next in order below the head of the Church were the archbishops. An archbishop was a bishop whose power extended beyond the boundaries of his own diocese and who exercised a certain control over all the bishops within his *province*.[2] One

[1] Many of the edicts, decisions, and orders of the popes were called *bulls*, from the seal (Latin *bulla*) attached to them.

[2] See the ecclesiastical map of France on the next page.

of the chief prerogatives of the archbishop was the right to summon the bishops of his province to meet in a provincial council. His court received appeals from the bishops' courts. Except, however, for the distinction of his title and the fact

ECCLESIASTICAL MAP OF FRANCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

that he generally lived in an important city and often had vast political influence, the archbishop was not very much more powerful as an officer of the Church than the other bishops.

There is perhaps no class of persons in medieval times whose position it is so necessary to understand as that of the bishops.

They were regarded as the successors of the apostles, whose powers were held to be divinely transmitted to them. They represented the Church Universal in their respective dioceses, under the supreme headship of their "elder brother," the bishop of Rome, the successor of the chief of the apostles. Their insignia of office, the miter and crosier, are familiar to everyone. Each bishop had his especial church, which was called a cathedral and usually surpassed the other churches of the diocese in size and beauty.

Only a bishop could ordain new members of the clergy or degrade the old. He alone could consecrate churches or anoint kings. He alone could perform the sacrament of confirmation, though as priest he might administer any of the other sacraments. Aside from his purely religious duties, he was the overseer of all the churchmen in his diocese, including the monks.[1] He held a court where a great variety of suits were tried. If he were a conscientious prelate, he traveled about his diocese visiting the parish churches and the monasteries to see if the priests did their duty and the monks behaved themselves properly.

In addition to the oversight of his diocese, it was the bishop's business to see to the lands and other possessions which belonged to the bishopric. He had, moreover, to perform those governmental duties which the king (especially in Germany) had thrown upon him, and he was conspicuous among the monarch's counselors. Lastly, the bishop was usually a feudal lord, with the obligations that that implied. He might have vassals and subvassals, and often was himself a vassal, not only of the king but also of some neighboring lord. As one reads through the archives of a bishopric it is hard to tell whether the bishop should be called, first and foremost, a churchman or a feudal lord. In short, the duties of the bishop were as manifold as those of the medieval Church itself.

[1] Except those monasteries and orders whose members were especially exempted by the Pope from the jurisdiction of the bishops.

The reforms of Gregory VII had resulted in placing the choice of the bishop in the hands of the cathedral *chapter*,[1] that is, the body of clergy connected with the cathedral church. But this did not prevent the king from nominating the candidate, since the chapter did not venture to proceed to an election without procuring a license from the king. Otherwise he might refuse to invest the person they chose with the lands and political prerogatives attached to the office.

The smallest division of the Church was the parish. This had definite limits, although the parishioners might vary in number from a few families to a considerable village or an important district of a town. At the head of the parish was the parish priest, who conducted services in the parish church and absolved, baptized, married, and buried his parishioners. The priests were supposed to be supported by the lands belonging to the parish church and by the tithes. But both these sources of income were often in the hands of laymen or of a neighboring monastery, while the priest received the merest pittance, scarcely sufficient to keep soul and body together.

The parish church was the center of village life, and the priest was the natural guardian of the community. It was his business, for example, to see that no undesirable persons lurked in the village—heretics, sorcerers, or lepers. It will be observed that the priest, besides attending to the morals of his flock, was expected to see to their bodily welfare by preventing the presence of those afflicted with the only infectious disease against which precautions were taken in the Middle Ages.[2]

[1] Those clergymen who enjoyed the revenue from the endowed offices connected with a cathedral church were called *canons*. The office of canon was an honorable one and much sought after, partly because the duties were light and could often be avoided altogether.

[2] It should be remembered that only a part of the priests were intrusted with the care of souls in a parish. There were many priests among the wandering monks, of whom something will be said presently (see page 253). There were also many chantry priests whose main function was saying masses for the dead in chapels and churches endowed with revenue or lands by those who in this way provided for the repose of their souls or those of their descendants.

The Seven Sacraments

The unexampled authority of the medieval Church is, however, only partially explained by its wonderful organization. To understand the hold which it had upon mankind, we must consider the exalted position of the clergy and the teachings of the Church in regard to salvation, of which it claimed to be the exclusive agent.

The clergy were set apart from the laity in several ways. The higher orders—bishop, priest, deacon, and subdeacon—were required to remain unmarried, and in this way were freed from the cares and interests of family life. The Church held, moreover, that when the higher clergy had been properly ordained they received through their ordination a mysterious imprint, the "indelible character," so that they could never become simple laymen again, even if they ceased to perform their duties altogether or were cast out of the Church for crime. Above all, the clergy alone could administer the *sacraments*, upon which the salvation of every individual soul depended.

Although the Church believed that all the sacraments were established by Christ, it was not until the middle of the twelfth century that they were clearly described. Peter Lombard (d. 1164), a teacher of theology at Paris, prepared a manual of the doctrines of the Church as he found them in the Scriptures and in the writings of the Church Fathers, especially Augustine. These *Sentences* (from the Latin *sententiae*, opinions) of Peter Lombard were very influential, for they appeared at a time when there was a new interest in theology, particularly at Paris, where a great university was growing up.[1]

It was Peter Lombard who first distinctly formulated the doctrine of the seven sacraments. His teachings did not claim,

[1] For several centuries the *Sentences* were used as the textbook in all the divinity schools. Theologians established their reputations by writing commentaries upon them. One of Luther's first acts of revolt was to protest against giving the study of the *Sentences* preference over that of the Bible in the universities.

of course, to be more than an orderly statement and reconciliation of the various opinions which he found in the Scriptures and the Church Fathers, but his interpretations and definitions constituted a new basis for medieval theology. Before his time the word *sacramentum* (that is, something sacred, a mystery) was applied to a variety of sacred things; for example, baptism, the cross, Lent, holy water, etc. But Peter Lombard states that there are seven sacraments, to wit: baptism, confirmation, extreme unction, marriage, penance, ordination, and the Lord's Supper. Through these sacraments all righteousness either has its beginning or, when begun, is increased or, if lost, is regained. They are essential to salvation, and no one can be saved except through them.[1]

By means of the sacraments the Church accompanied the faithful through life. By *baptism* all the sin due to Adam's fall was washed away; through that door alone could a soul enter the spiritual life. With the holy oil and the balsam (typifying the fragrance of righteousness), which were rubbed upon the forehead of the boy or girl at *confirmation* by the bishop, the young were strengthened so that they might boldly confess the name of the Lord. If the believer fell perilously ill, the priest anointed him with oil in the name of the Lord, and by this sacrament of *extreme unction* expelled all vestiges of former sin and refreshed the spirit of the dying. Through the priest alone might *marriage* be sanctified; and when the bonds were once legally contracted, they might never be sundered. If evil desire, which baptism lessened but did not remove, led the Christian into deadly sin (as it constantly did), the Church, through the sacrament of *penance*, reconciled him once more with God and saved him from the jaws of hell; for the priest, through the sacrament of *ordination*, received the most exalted prerogative of forgiving sins. He enjoyed, too,

[1] Not all the sacraments are necessary to everyone; for example, orders and matrimony. Moreover, the sincere *wish* suffices if one is so situated that it is not possible for him actually to receive the sacraments.

the awful power and privilege of performing the miracle of the *Mass*,—of offering up Christ anew for the remission of the sinner's guilt.

The sacrament of penance is, with the Mass, of especial historical importance. When a bishop ordained a priest, he said to him, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven them: whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." In this way the priest was intrusted with the keys of the kingdom of heaven. There was no hope of salvation for one who had fallen into mortal sin unless he received —or at least desired and sought—the absolution of the priest. To one who scorned the priest's ministrations the most sincere and prayerful repentance could not by itself bring forgiveness in the eyes of the Church. Before the priest could utter the solemn "I absolve thee from thy sins" the sinner must have duly confessed his sins and have expressed his vehement detestation of them and his firm resolve never more to offend. It is clear that the priest could not pronounce judgment unless he had been told the nature of the case; nor would he be justified in absolving an offender who was not truly sorry for what he had done. Therefore confession and penitence were necessary preliminaries to absolution.[1]

Absolution did not free the contrite sinner from all the results of his sin. It cleared the soul of the deadly guilt which would otherwise have been punished by everlasting suffering, but it did not exempt the penitent from the temporal penalties. These might be imposed by the priest in this world or suffered after death in the fires of purgatory, which cleansed the soul and prepared it for heaven.

The punishment prescribed by the priest was called *penance*. This took a great variety of forms. It might consist in fast-

[1] Confession was a very early practice in the Church. Innocent III and the fourth Lateran Council made it obligatory by requiring the faithful to confess at least once a year, at Easter time. For an official description of the sacraments, by Pope Eugenius IV (1438), see *Readings*, chap. xvi.

ing, repeating prayers, visiting holy places, or abstaining from one's ordinary pleasures. A journey to the Holy Land was regarded as taking the place of all penance. Instead, however, of requiring the penitent actually to perform the fasts, pilgrimages, or other sacrifices imposed as penance by the priest, the Church early permitted him to change his penance into a contribution, to be applied to some pious enterprise, such as building a church or bridge or caring for the poor and sick.

The priest not only forgave sin; he was also empowered to celebrate the fundamental ceremony of the Mass. The early Christians had solemnized the Lord's Supper, or Holy Eucharist, in various ways and had entertained various conceptions of its nature and significance. Gradually the idea came to be universally accepted that by the consecration of the bread and the wine the whole substance of the bread was converted into the substance of the body of Christ, and the whole substance of the wine into his blood. This change was termed *transubstantiation*. The Church believed, further, that in this sacrament Christ was offered up anew, as he had been on the cross, as a sacrifice to God. This sacrifice might be performed for the sins of the absent as well as of the present, and for the dead as well as for the living. Moreover, Christ was to be worshiped under the form of the bread, or *host* (from the Latin *hostia*, "sacrifice"), with the highest form of adoration. The Host was to be borne about in solemn procession when God was to be especially propitiated, as in the case of a famine or plague.

This conception of the Mass as a sacrifice had some important practical consequences. It became the most exalted of the functions of the priest and the very center of the Church's services. Besides the public masses for the people, private masses were constantly celebrated for the benefit of individuals, especially of the dead. Foundations were created the income of which went to support priests for the single purpose of saying daily masses for the repose of the soul of the donor or those of the members of his family. It was also a common

practice to bestow gifts upon churches and monasteries on condition that annual or more frequent masses should be said for the giver.

The Dominating Position of the Clergy

The sublime prerogatives of the Church, together with its unrivaled organization and vast wealth, combined to make its officers, the clergy, the most powerful governing class of the Middle Ages. They held the keys of heaven, and without their aid no one could hope to enter in. By excommunication they could not only cast an offender out of the Church but also forbid his fellow men to associate with him, since he was accursed and consigned to Satan. By means of the interdict they could suspend the consolations of religion in a whole city or country by closing the church doors and prohibiting all public services.

The influence of the clergy was greatly enhanced by the fact that they alone were educated. For six or seven centuries after the overthrow of the Roman government in the West, very few except the clergy ever dreamed of studying or even of learning to read and write. Even in the thirteenth century an offender who wished to prove that he belonged to the clergy, in order that he might be tried by a Church court, had only to show that he could read a single line; for it was assumed by the judges that no one unconnected with the Church could read at all.[1]

It was therefore inevitable that almost all the books should be written by priests and monks, and that the clergy should become the ruling power in all intellectual, artistic, and literary matters,—the chief guardians and promoters of civilization. Moreover, the civil government was forced to rely upon churchmen to write out the public documents and proclamations. The priests and monks held the pen for the king. Representatives of the clergy sat in the king's councils and acted as his minis-

[1] The privilege of being tried by churchmen, which all connected with the Church claimed, was called *benefit of clergy* (see *Readings*, chap. xvi).

ters and confidential advisers; in fact, the conduct of the government devolved largely upon them during the Middle Ages.[1]

The offices in the Church were open to all ranks of men, and many of the popes themselves sprang from the humblest classes. The Church thus constantly recruited its ranks with fresh blood. No one held an office simply because his father had held it before him, as was the case in the civil government.

That distinguished historian Henry C. Lea sums up his impressions of the medieval Church as follows: One who entered the service of the Church "was released from the distraction of family cares and the seduction of family ties. The Church was his country and his home, and its interests were his own. The moral, intellectual, and physical forces, which throughout the laity were divided between the claims of patriotism, the selfish struggle for advancement, the provision for wife and children, were in the Church consecrated to a common end, in the success of which all might hope to share, while all were assured of the necessities of existence, and were relieved of anxiety as to the future." The Church was thus "an army encamped on the soil of Christendom, with its outposts everywhere, subject to the most efficient discipline, animated with a common purpose, every soldier panoplied with inviolability and armed with the tremendous weapons which slew the soul."

Temptation and Corruption

It is natural to ask whether the commanders of the great army which made up the Church militant proved valiant leaders in the eternal warfare against evil. Did they, on the whole, resist the temptations which their almost limitless power and wealth constantly placed in their way? Did they use their vast resources to advance the cause of the Great Leader whose

[1] The bishops still constituted, down to the close of the World War, an important element in the upper houses of parliament in several European countries.

humble followers and servants they claimed to be? Or were they, on the contrary, selfish and corrupt, turning the teachings of the Church to their own advantage and discrediting its doctrines in the eyes of the people by flagrant maladministration and personal wickedness?

No simple answer to this question is possible. One who realizes how completely the Church dominated every human interest and influenced every department of life in the Middle Ages must hesitate in the attempt to balance the good and evil that should be placed to its account. That the Church conferred incalculable benefits upon western Europe few will question. To say nothing of its chief mission,—the moral uplifting of mankind through the Christian religion,—we have seen how, under its auspices, the barbarians were civilized and brought into the family of nations; how violence was checked by the "Truce of God"; and how an educated class was maintained during the centuries when few laymen could either read or write. These are only the more obvious of its achievements; the solace and protection which it afforded to the weak, the wretched, and the heartsore no one can assume to estimate.

On the other hand, no one can read the sources of our knowledge of the history of the Church without perceiving that there were always bad clergymen who abused their high prerogatives. Many bishops and priests were no more worthy to be intrusted with their extensive powers than the unscrupulous office seekers to whom high stations in our modern governments sometimes fall.

Yet as we read the fiery denunciations of the clergy's evil practices, which may be found in the records of nearly every age, we must not forget that the critic is always prone to take the good for granted and to dwell upon the evil. This is particularly true in dealing with a great religious institution, where corruption is especially shocking. One wicked bishop or one form of oppression or immorality among the clergy made a far deeper impression than the humble virtues of a hundred dutiful

and God-fearing priests. If, however, we make all due allowance for the good which escaped the writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it must be admitted by all who read their testimony that they give us a gloomy picture of the life of many prelates, priests, and monks, and of the startling variety of abuses which developed in the Church.

Gregory VII imagined that the reason for the existence of bad clergymen was that the kings and feudal lords forced their favorites into the offices of the Church. The root of the difficulty lay, however, in the wealth and power of the Church itself. It would have needed saints always to exercise righteously the tremendous powers which the clergy had acquired and to resist the temptations to which they were subjected. When we consider the position of a rich prelate, it is not surprising that corruption abounded. The offices of the Church offered the same possibilities of money-making that civil offices, especially those in the great American cities, offer to the mere schemer today. The descriptions of some of the churchmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries remind us far more of the professional politician than of a modern clergyman, whether Catholic or Protestant.

At least a brief description of the more notorious forms of corruption among the clergy will be necessary to an understanding of the various heresies, or revolts against the Church. These began seriously to threaten its power in the twelfth century and culminated in the successful Protestant revolt of the sixteenth. The vices of the clergy serve to account also for the appearance of the begging monks, the Franciscans and Dominicans, and to explain the need of the great reform which they undertook in the thirteenth century.

In the first place, there was simony, or graft, a disease so deep-seated and persistent that Innocent III declared it incurable. This has already been described in an earlier chapter. Even boys were made bishops and abbots through the influence of their friends and relatives. Wealthy bishoprics and monas-

teries were considered by feudal lords an admirable means of support for their younger sons, since the eldest-born usually inherited the fief. The life led by bishops and abbots was often merely that of a feudal prince. If a prelate had a taste for fighting, he organized military expeditions for conquest or to satisfy a grudge against a neighbor, exactly as if he belonged to the bellicose laity of the period.

Besides simony and the scandalous lives of many of the clergy, there were other evils which brought the Church into disrepute. While the popes themselves, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were usually excellent men and sometimes distinguished statesmen, who honestly endeavored to exalt the vast institution over which they presided, their officials, who tried the innumerable cases which were brought to the papal court, had a reputation for grave corruption. It was generally believed that the decision was always in favor of him who could pay most, and that the poor received scant attention. The bishops' courts were notorious for their oppression, since a considerable portion of the bishop's income, like that of the feudal lord, came from the fines imposed upon those condemned by his officials. The same person was sometimes summoned to different courts at the same time and then fined for neglecting to appear at one or the other.

As for the parish priests, they seem often to have followed the demoralizing example set by their superiors. The acts of Church councils indicate that the priest sometimes turned his parsonage into a shop and sold wine or other commodities. He further increased his income, as we have seen, by demanding fees for merely doing his duty in baptizing, confessing, absolving, marrying, and burying his parishioners.

The monks of the twelfth century, with some remarkable exceptions, did little to supply the deficiencies of the secular clergy.[1] Instead of instructing the people and setting before

[1] It must not be forgotten that the monks were regarded as belonging to the clergy.

them an example of a pure and holy life, they enjoyed no better reputation than the bishops and priests. Efforts to reform the monks were made, however, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, by newly founded orders like that of the Cistercians, to which St. Bernard (1090–1153) belonged.

The universal impression of selfishness and depravity which the corrupt churchmen made upon all observers is reflected in innumerable writings of the time: in the letters of the popes, in the exhortations of holy men like St. Bernard, in the acts of the councils, in the satirical poems of the popular troubadours and the sprightly versifiers of the court.[1] All agree in denouncing the iniquity of the clergy, their greed, and their reckless disregard of their sacred duties. St. Bernard sadly asks, "Whom can you show me among the prelates who does not seek rather to empty the pockets of his flock than to subdue their vices?"

The evils which the churchmen themselves so frankly admitted could not escape the notice and comment of laymen. But while the better element among the clergy vigorously urged a reform of the existing abuses, no churchman dreamed of denying the truth of the Church's doctrines or the efficacy of its ceremonies. Among the laity, however, certain popular leaders arose who declared that the Church was the synagogue of Satan; that no one ought any longer to rely upon it for his salvation; that all its elaborate ceremonies were worse than useless; that its masses, holy water, and relics were mere money-getting devices of a depraved priesthood and helped no one to heaven. These bold rebels against the Church naturally found a hearing among those who felt that the ministrations of a wicked priest could not possibly help a sinner, as well as among those who were exasperated by the tithes and other ecclesiastical dues.

[1] See *Readings*, chap. xvii.

New Heresies; the Holy Inquisition

Those who questioned the teachings of the Church and proposed to cast off its authority were, according to the accepted view of the time, guilty of the supreme crime of heresy. To the orthodox believer nothing could exceed the guilt of one who committed treason against God by rejecting the religion which had been handed down in the Roman Church from the immediate followers of his Son. Moreover, doubt and unbelief were not merely sin; they were revolt against the most powerful social institution of the time, which, in spite of the depravity of some of its officials, continued to be venerated by people at large throughout western Europe. The extent and character of the heresies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the efforts of the Church to suppress them by persuasion, by fire and sword, and by the stern court of the Inquisition, form a strange and terrible chapter in medieval history.

The heretics were of two sorts. One class merely abjured the practices and some of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, while they remained Christians and endeavored to imitate as nearly as possible the simple life of Christ and the apostles. On the other hand, there were popular leaders who taught that the Christian religion was false. They held that there were two principles in the universe, the good and the evil, which were forever fighting for the victory. They asserted that the Jehovah of the Old Testament was really the evil power, and that it was therefore the evil power whom the Catholic Church worshiped.

This latter heresy was a very old one, since it had much in common with the teachings of the Manichæans, denounced in the Theodosian Code (see page 36). It was revived in Italy in the eleventh century and became very popular (especially in southern France) in the twelfth. Its adherents called themselves *Cathari* (the pure); but we shall call them *Albigenses*, a name derived from the town of Albi in southern France.

Among those who continued to accept the Christian faith but refused to obey the clergy on account of their wickedness, the most important sect was that of the Waldenses. These were followers of Peter Waldo of Lyon, who gave up all their property and lived a life of apostolic poverty. They went about preaching the Gospel and expounding the Scriptures, which they translated into the language of the people. They made many converts, and before the end of the twelfth century there were great numbers of them scattered throughout western Europe.[1]

The Church did not wish to condemn the efforts of good and simple men to imitate as exactly as possible the life of Christ and the apostles. Nevertheless these laymen, who claimed the right to preach and hear confession, and who asserted that prayer was quite as efficacious when uttered in bed or in a stable as in a church, seemed clearly to call in question the general belief in the Church as the exclusive agent of salvation, and seriously to threaten its influence among the people.

Before the end of the twelfth century the secular rulers began to take notice of heresy. Henry II of England, in 1166, ordered that no one should harbor heretics in England, and that any house in which they were received should be burned. The king of Aragon decreed (1194) that anyone who listened to the preaching of the Waldenses or even gave them food should suffer the penalties for treason and should have his property confiscated by the State. These are the beginnings of a series of pitiless decrees which even the most enlightened kings of the thirteenth century, including the skeptical Frederick II,[2] issued against all who should be convicted of belonging either to the Albigenses or to the Waldenses. The Church and the civil government agreed that heretics were dangerous to the welfare of both, and that they were criminals deserving the terrible death of burning alive.

[1] See *Readings*, chap. xvii, for the beliefs of the heretics.

[2] An example of these decrees is given in *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 384 ff.

It is very difficult for us who live in a tolerant age to understand the universal and deep-rooted horror of heresy which prevailed not only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but also down at least to the eighteenth. Too much stress cannot be laid upon the fact that heresy was considered treason against an institution which substantially all—both the learned and the unlearned—agreed was not only essential to salvation but was necessary also to order and civilization. Frank criticism of the evil lives of the clergy, not excluding the Pope himself, was common enough. But this did not constitute heresy. One might believe that the Pope and half the bishops were bad men, and yet in no way question the necessity for the Church's existence or the truth of every one of its dogmas; just as nowadays we might call particular rulers and government officials fools or knaves without being suspected of repudiating government altogether. The heretic was the anarchist of the Middle Ages. He did not simply denounce the immorality of the officers of the Church; he claimed that the Church was worse than useless. He sought to lead people to throw off their allegiance to it and to disregard its laws and commands. The Church and the civil government consequently proceeded against him as against an enemy of society and order. Heresy was, moreover, a contagious disease and spread rapidly and unobserved, so that to the rulers of the times even the harshest measures appeared justifiable in order to prevent its dissemination.

There were several ways of opposing heresy. First, a reform of the character of the clergy and a suppression of the abuses in the Church would have removed a great cause of that discontent to which the writers of the time attributed the rapid growth of heresy. The attempt of Innocent III to improve the conditions in the Church by summoning a great council at Rome in 1215 failed, however, and, according to his successor, matters grew worse rather than better.

A second plan was to organize an expedition against the rebels and annihilate them by the sword. This policy was pos-

sible only if a large number of heretics could be found in a single district. In southern France there were many adherents of both the Albigenses and the Waldenses, especially in the county of Toulouse. At the beginning of the thirteenth century there was in this region an open contempt for the Church and a bold defense of heretical teachings even among the higher classes.

Against the people of this flourishing land Innocent III preached a crusade in 1208. An army under Simon de Montfort[1] marched from northern France into the doomed region, and, after one of the most atrocious and bloody wars upon record, suppressed the heresy by wholesale slaughter. At the same time the war checked the civilization and destroyed the prosperity of the most enlightened portion of France.

The third and most permanent defense against heresy was the establishment, under the headship of the Pope, of a system of tribunals designed to ferret out secret cases of unbelief and bring the offenders to punishment. These courts of experts, who devoted their whole attention to the discovery and conviction of heresy, constituted the Holy Inquisition, which gradually took form after the Albigensian crusade. We cannot stop to describe these courts, which became especially notorious in Spain some two centuries after their establishment. The unfairness of the trials and the cruel treatment to which those suspected of heresy were subjected, through long imprisonment or torture (inflicted with the hope of forcing them to confess their crime or implicate others), have rendered the name of the Inquisition infamous.

Without by any means attempting to defend the methods employed, it may be remarked that the inquisitors were often earnest and upright men whose feelings were not unlike those of a New England judge presiding at a witch trial in the seventeenth century. The methods of procedure of the Inquisition were not more cruel than those used in the secular courts.

[1] His son married an English lady, became a leader of the English barons, and was the first to summon the commons to Parliament (see page 166).

The assertion of the suspected person that he was not a heretic did not receive any attention, for it was assumed that he would naturally deny his guilt, as would any other criminal. A person's belief had therefore to be judged by outward acts. Consequently one might fall into the hands of the Inquisition by mere inadvertent conversation with a heretic, by some unintentional neglect to show due respect toward the Church rites, or by the malicious testimony of one's neighbors. This is really the most dreadful aspect of the Inquisition and its procedure. It put a premium on talebearing and resorted to most cruel means to convict those who earnestly denied that their beliefs were different from those of the Church.

If the suspected person confessed his guilt and abjured his heresy, he was forgiven and received back into the Church; but a penance of life imprisonment was imposed upon him as a fitting means of wiping away the unspeakable sin of which he had been guilty. If he remained impenitent, he was "relaxed to the secular arm"; that is to say, the Church, whose law forbade it to shed blood, handed over the convicted person to the civil power, which burned him alive without further trial.

Little Brother Francis

We may now turn to that far more cheerful and effective method of meeting the opponents of the Church which may be said to have been discovered by St. Francis of Assisi. His teachings and the example of his beautiful life probably did far more to secure continued allegiance to the Church than all the hideous devices of the Inquisition.

We have seen how the Waldenses tried to better the world by living simple lives and preaching the Gospel. Owing to the disfavor of the Church authorities, who declared their teachings erroneous and dangerous, they were prevented from publicly carrying on their missionary work. Yet all conscientious men agreed with the Waldenses that the world was in a sad plight,

owing to the negligence and the misdeeds of the clergy. St. Francis and St. Dominic strove to meet the needs of their time by inventing a new kind of clergyman, the begging brother, or mendicant friar (from the Latin *frater*, "brother"). He was to do just what the bishops and parish priests frequently failed to do, namely, lead a holy life of self-sacrifice, defend the orthodox beliefs against the reproaches and attacks of the heretics, and awaken the people at large to a new spiritual life. The founding of the mendicant orders is one of the most important and interesting events of the Middle Ages.

There is no more lovely and fascinating figure in all history than St. Francis. He was born (probably in 1182) at Assisi, a little town in central Italy. He was the son of a well-to-do merchant, and during his early youth he lived a very gay life, spending his father's money freely. He read the French romances of the time and dreamed of imitating the brave knights whose adventures they described. Although his companions were wild and reckless, there was a delicacy and chivalry in Francis's own make-up which made him hate all things coarse and heartless. When later he voluntarily became a beggar, his ragged coat still covered a true poet and knight.

The contrast between his own life of luxury and the sad state of the poor early afflicted him. When he was about twenty, after a long and serious illness which made a break in his gay life and gave him time to think, he suddenly lost his love for the old pleasures and began to consort with the destitute—above all, with the lepers. Now Francis, being delicately organized and nurtured, especially loathed these miserable creatures, but he forced himself to kiss their hands, as if they were his friends, and to wash their sores. So he gained a great victory over himself, and that which seemed bitter to him became, as he says, "sweet and easy."

His father does not appear to have had any fondness whatever for beggars, and the relations between him and his son grew more and more strained. When finally he threatened to

disinherit the young man, Francis cheerfully agreed to surrender all right to his inheritance. Stripping off his clothes and giving them back to his father, he accepted the worn-out garment of a gardener and became a homeless hermit, busying himself in repairing the dilapidated chapels near Assisi.

One day in February, 1209, as he was listening to Mass, the priest, turning toward him by chance, read: "And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. . . . Get you no gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, no wallet for your journey, neither two coats, nor shoes, nor staff; for the laborer is worthy of his food" (Matthew x, 7–10). This seemed to the expectant Francis the answer of Christ himself to his longings for guidance. Here was a complete program laid out for him. He threw aside his stick, wallet, and shoes and resolved thereafter to lead, literally and absolutely, the life the apostles had led.

He began to preach in a simple way, and before long a rich fellow townsman resolved to sell all and give to the poor and follow Francis's example. Others soon joined them; and these joyous penitents, free of worldly burdens, calling themselves "God's troubadours," went barefoot and moneyless about central Italy preaching the Gospel. Some of those they met "listened willingly, others scoffed, the greater number overwhelmed them with questions, 'Whence come you?' 'Of what order are you?' and they, though sometimes it was wearisome to answer, said simply, 'We are penitents, natives of the city of Assisi.'"

When, with a dozen followers, Francis appealed to the Pope in 1210 to approve his plan, Innocent III hesitated. He did not believe that anyone could lead a life of absolute poverty. Then might not these ragged, ill-kempt vagabonds appear to condemn the Church by adopting a life so different from that of the rich and comfortable clergy? Yet if he disapproved the friars, he would seem to disapprove at the same time Christ's directions to his apostles. He finally decided to give his oral

sanction and to authorize the brethren to continue their missions. They were to receive the tonsure and to come under the spiritual authority of the Roman Church.

Seven years later, when Francis's followers had greatly increased, missionary work was begun on a large scale, and brethren were dispatched to Germany, Hungary, France, Spain, and even to Syria. It was not long before an English chronicler was telling with wonder of the arrival in his country of these barefoot men, in their patched gowns and with ropes about their waists, who, with Christian faith, took no thought for the morrow, believing that their Heavenly Father knew what things they had need of.

The ill treatment which the friars received in their distant journeys led them to appeal to the Pope for a letter which should request the faithful everywhere to treat them kindly, since they were good Catholics. This was the beginning of numberless privileges from the Pope. It grieved Francis, however, to see his little band of companions converted into a great and powerful order. He foresaw that they would soon cease to lead their simple, holy life, and would become ambitious and perhaps rich. "I, little Brother Francis," he writes, "desire to follow the life and the poverty of Jesus Christ, persevering therein until the end; and I beg you all and exhort you to persevere always in this most holy life of poverty, and take good care never to depart from it upon the advice and teachings of anyone whomsoever."

Francis sorrowfully undertook to draw up a new and more elaborate constitution to take the place of the few Gospel passages which he had originally brought together as a guide. After many modifications, to suit the ideas of the Pope and the cardinals, the Franciscan Rule was solemnly ratified (1228) by Honorius III. It provides that "the brothers shall appropriate nothing to themselves, neither a house, nor a place, nor anything; but as pilgrims and strangers in this world, in poverty and humility serving God, they shall confidently seek

alms. Nor need they be ashamed, for the Lord made Himself poor for us in this world." Yet the friars are to work if they are able and if their charitable and religious duties leave them time to do so. They may be paid for this labor in necessities for themselves or their brethren, but never may they receive coin or money. Those may wear shoes who cannot get along without them. They may repair their garments with sackcloth and other remnants. They must live in absolute obedience to their superior and may not, of course, marry nor may they leave the order.

After the death of St. Francis (1226) many of the order, which now numbered several thousand members, wished to maintain the simple rule of absolute poverty. Others, including the new head of the order, believed that much good might be done with the wealth which people were anxious to give them. They argued that the individual friars might still remain absolutely possessionless, even if the order had beautiful churches and comfortable monasteries. A stately church was immediately constructed at Assisi to receive the remains of their humble founder, who in his lifetime had chosen a deserted hovel for his home; and a great chest was set up in the church to receive offerings.

St. Dominic and his Order

St. Dominic (b. 1170), the founder of the other great mendicant order, was not a simple layman like Francis. He was a churchman and took a regular course of instruction in theology for ten years in a Spanish university. He then (1208) accompanied his bishop to southern France on the eve of the Albigensian crusade and was deeply shocked to see the prevalence of heresy. His host at Toulouse happened to be an Albigensian, and Dominic spent the night in converting him. He then and there determined to devote his life to the extirpation of heresy. The little we know of him indicates that he was a man of resolute purpose and deep convictions, full of burning zeal for

the Christian faith and horror of all its enemies, yet kindly and cheerful, and winning in manner.

By 1214 a few sympathetic spirits from various parts of Europe had joined Dominic, and they asked Innocent III to sanction their new order. The Pope again hesitated, but is said to have dreamed a dream in which he saw the great Roman church of the Lateran tottering and ready to fall had not Dominic supported it on his shoulders. So he inferred that the new organization might sometime become a great aid to the papacy, and gave it his approval. As soon as possible Dominic sent forth his followers, of whom there were but sixteen, to evangelize the world, just as the Franciscans were undertaking their first missionary journeys. By 1221 the Dominican order was thoroughly organized and had sixty monasteries scattered over western Europe. "Wandering on foot over the face of Europe, under burning suns or chilling blasts, rejecting alms in money but receiving thankfully whatever coarse food might be set before the wayfarer, enduring hunger in silent resignation, taking no thought for the morrow, but busied eternally in the work of snatching souls from Satan and lifting men up from the sordid cares of daily life, of ministering to their infirmities and of bringing to their darkened souls a glimpse of heavenly light" (Lea)—in this way did the early Franciscans and Dominicans win the love and veneration of the people.

Unlike the Benedictine monks, each of the friars was under the command not only of the head of his particular monastery but also of the "general" of the whole order. Like a soldier, he was liable to be sent by his commander upon any mission that the work of the order demanded. The friars, indeed, regarded themselves as soldiers of Christ. Instead of devoting themselves to a life of contemplation apart from the world, like the earlier monks, they were accustomed and required to mix with all classes of men. They must be ready to dare and suffer all in the interest of their work of saving not only themselves but also their fellow men.

The Dominicans were called the "Preaching Friars" and were carefully trained in theology in order the better to refute the arguments of the heretics. The Pope delegated to them especially the task of conducting the Inquisition. They early began to extend their influence over the universities; and the two most distinguished theologians and teachers of the thirteenth century, Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, were Dominicans. Among the Franciscans, on the other hand, there was always a considerable party who were suspicious of learning and who showed far more anxiety to remain absolutely poor than did the Dominicans. Yet as a whole the Franciscans, like the Dominicans, accepted the wealth that came to them, and they too contributed distinguished scholars to the universities.

The Pope quickly recognized the importance of these new orders. He granted them successive privileges which freed them from all control of the bishops, and finally declared that they were to be bound only by their own rules. What was still more important, he gave them the right, if they were priests, to go everywhere celebrating Mass, preaching, and performing the ordinary functions of the parish priests, such as hearing confession, granting absolution, and conducting burials. The friars invaded every parish and appear to have largely replaced the parish priests. The laity believed them to be holier than the secular clergy and therefore regarded their prayers and ministrations as more efficient. Few towns were without a gray friars' (Franciscan) or a black friars' (Dominican) cloister; few princes but had a Dominican or a Franciscan confessor.

It is hardly necessary to say that the secular clergy took these encroachments very ill. Again and again they appealed to the Pope to abolish the orders, or at least to prevent them from enriching themselves at the expense of the parish priests. But they got little satisfaction. Once the Pope quite frankly told a great deputation of cardinals, bishops, and minor clergy that it was their own vain and worldly lives which made them

hate the mendicant brothers, who spent the bequests they received from the dying for the honor of God, instead of wasting them in pleasure.

The mendicant orders have counted among their numbers men of the greatest ability and distinction,—scholars like Thomas Aquinas, reformers like Savonarola, artists like Fra Angelico and Fra Bartolommeo, and scientists like Roger Bacon. In the busy world of the thirteenth century there was no agency more active for good than the friars. Yet their vagrant lives, free from the ordinary control of the Church, and the great wealth which was showered upon them, afforded many obvious temptations which they did not long withstand. Bonaventura, who was made head of the Franciscan order in 1257, admits the general dislike aroused by the greed, idleness, and vice of its degenerate members, as well as by their importunate begging, which rendered the friar more troublesome to the wayfarer than the robber. Nevertheless the friars were preferred to the ordinary priests by high and low alike; it was they, rather than the secular clergy, who maintained and cultivated the religious life in both city and country.

Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair

The influence which the Church and its head exercised over the civil government in the Middle Ages was due largely to the absence of strong, efficient rulers who could count upon the support of a large body of prosperous and loyal subjects. So long as the feudal anarchy continued, the Church endeavored to supply the deficiencies of the restless and ignorant princes by striving to maintain order, administer justice, protect the weak, and encourage learning. As soon as the modern state began to develop, however, difficulties arose. The clergy naturally clung to the powers and privileges which they had long enjoyed, and which they believed to be rightly theirs. On the other hand, the State, as soon as it felt itself able to manage its

own affairs, protect its subjects, and provide for their worldly interests, was less and less inclined to tolerate the interference of the clergy and their head, the Pope. Educated laymen were becoming more and more common, and the king was no longer obliged to rely upon the assistance of the clergy in conducting his government. It was natural that he should look with disfavor upon their privileges, which put them upon a different footing from the great mass of his subjects, and upon their wealth, which he deemed excessive and dangerous to his power. This situation raised the fundamental problem of the proper relation of Church and State, upon which Europe has been working ever since the fourteenth century and which it has hardly solved even now.

The difficulty which the Church experienced in maintaining its power against the kings is admirably shown by the famous struggle between Philip the Fair, the grandson of St. Louis, and Boniface VIII, an old man of boundless ambition and inexhaustible energy, who came to the papal throne in 1294. The first serious trouble arose over the habit into which the kings of England and France had fallen, of taxing the property of the churchmen like that of other subjects. It was natural after a monarch had squeezed all that he could out of the Jews and the towns, and had exacted every possible feudal due, that he should turn to the rich estates of the clergy, in spite of their claim that their property was dedicated to God and owed the king nothing. The extensive enterprises of Edward I led him, in 1296, to demand one fifth of the personal property of the clergy. Philip the Fair exacted one hundredth and then one fiftieth of the possessions of clergy and laity alike.

Against this impartial system Boniface protested in the famous bull *Clericis laicos* (1296). He claimed that the laity had always been exceedingly hostile to the clergy, and that the rulers were now imposing heavy burdens upon the Church, forgetting that they had no control over the clergy and their possessions. The Pope therefore forbade all churchmen, in-

cluding the monks, to pay, without his consent, to a king or ruler any part of the Church's revenue or possessions upon any pretext whatsoever.

The French king had, however, forbidden the exportation of gold and silver. In this way he cut off the Pope's revenue from France and forced him to give up this extreme position.

In spite of this setback the Pope never seemed more completely the recognized head of the Western world than during the first great jubilee, in the year 1300, when Boniface called together all Christendom to celebrate the opening of the new century by a great religious festival at Rome. It is reported that two millions of people, coming from all parts of Europe, visited the churches of Rome, and that although the streets were widened, many were crushed in the crowd. So great was the influx of money into the papal treasury that two assistants were kept busy with rakes collecting the offerings which were deposited at the tomb of St. Peter.

Boniface was, however, very soon to realize that even if Christendom regarded Rome as its religious center, the nations would not accept him as their political head. When he dispatched an obnoxious prelate to Philip the Fair, ordering him to free the count of Flanders, whom he was holding prisoner, the king declared the harsh language of the papal envoy to be high treason and sent one of his lawyers to the Pope to demand that the messenger be degraded and punished.

Philip was surrounded by a body of lawyers, and it would seem that they, rather than the king, were the real rulers of France. Through their study of Roman law they had learned to admire the absolute power exercised by the Roman emperor. To them the civil government was supreme, and they urged the king to punish what they regarded as the insolent conduct of the Pope. Before taking any action against the head of the Church, Philip called together the representatives of his people, including not only the clergy and the nobility but the people of the towns as well. The Estates General, after hearing a statement

of the case from one of Philip's lawyers, agreed to support their monarch in his opposition to the extreme claims of the Pope.

Nogaret, one of the chief legal advisers of the king, undertook to face the Pope. He collected a little troop of soldiers in Italy and marched against Boniface, who was sojourning at Anagni, where his predecessors had excommunicated two emperors, Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II. As Boniface was preparing solemnly to proclaim the king of France an outcast from the Church, Nogaret penetrated into the papal palace with his soldiers and heaped insults upon the helpless but defiant old man. The townspeople forced Nogaret to leave the next day; but Boniface's spirit was broken, and he soon died at Rome.

The Popes desert Rome for Avignon

King Philip now proposed to have no more trouble with popes. He arranged in 1305 to have the archbishop of Bordeaux chosen head of the Church as Clement V, with the understanding that he should transfer the papacy to France. The Pope remained in France during his whole pontificate, moving from one rich abbey to another. At Philip's command he reluctantly undertook a sort of trial of the deceased Boniface VIII, who was accused by the king's lawyers of all sorts of abominable crimes. A great part of Boniface's decrees were revoked. Then, to please the king, Clement brought the Templars to trial; the order was abolished and its possessions in France, for which the king had longed, were confiscated. Obviously it proved very advantageous to the king to have a pope within his realm. Clement V died in 1314. His successors took up their residence in the town of Avignon, just outside the French frontier of those days. There they built a sumptuous palace in which successive popes lived in great splendor for sixty years.

The prolonged exile of the popes from Rome, lasting from 1305 to 1377, is commonly called the Babylonian Captivity

of the Church,[1] on account of the woes attributed to it. The popes of this period were for the most part good and earnest men; but they were all Frenchmen, and the proximity of their court to France led to the natural suspicion that they were controlled by the French kings. This, together with their luxurious court, brought them into discredit with the other nations.[2]

At Avignon the popes were naturally cut off from some of the revenue which they had enjoyed from their Italian possessions when they lived at Rome. This deficiency had to be made up by increased taxation, especially as the expenses of the splendid papal court were very heavy. The papacy was consequently rendered still more unpopular by the methods employed to raise money, particularly by the granting of benefices throughout Europe to the Pope's courtiers and by the heavy contributions which were demanded for dispensations, for the confirmation of bishops, and for granting the pallium to archbishops, as well as by the high fees for the trial of lawsuits.

Many of the Church offices, such as those of the bishops and abbots, insured a more than ample revenue to their holders. It was natural, therefore, that the Pope, in his endeavor to increase his income, should have tried to bring as many of these appointments as he could into his own hands. He did this by *reserving* to himself the filling of certain benefices as soon as they should become vacant. He then chose someone to whom he wished to do a favor and promised him the benefice upon the death of the one then holding it. Men appointed in this way were called *provisors* and were extremely unpopular. They were very often foreigners, and it was suspected that they had obtained these positions from the Pope simply for the sake of the revenue and had no intention whatever of performing the duties connected with them.

The papal exactions met with strong opposition in England because the popes were thought to favor France, with which

[1] The name recalled, of course, the long exile of the Jews from their land.
[2] See *Readings*, chap. xxi.

country the English were at war. A law was passed by Parliament in 1352 ordering that all who procured appointments from the Pope should be outlawed as enemies of the king and his realm. This and similar laws failed, however, to prevent the Pope from filling English benefices to the advantage of himself and his courtiers. The English king was unable to keep the money of his realm from flowing to Avignon on one pretext or another. It was declared by the Good Parliament, held in 1376, that the taxes levied by the Pope in England were five times those raised by the king.

It was natural that under the circumstances reformers should arise who sought some solution for these rivalries between Church and State. Finally it came about that early in the sixteenth century some Christian princes ventured to repudiate the authority of the papal monarchy and seceded from the Roman Catholic Church, to which all the rulers of western Europe had previously belonged. It seems best to deal with these reformers and their theories, as well as with the subsequent history of the struggle between the popes and the general councils, in a later chapter in which the conditions leading up to the Protestant Revolt or Reformation will be considered (see Chapter XVI).

CHAPTER XII

THE PEOPLE IN COUNTRY AND TOWN

The Serfs and the Manor

Since the development of the rather new science of political economy, historical writers have become much interested in the condition and habits of the farmer, the tradesman, and the artisan in the Middle Ages. Unfortunately no amount of research is likely to make our knowledge very clear or certain regarding the condition of the people at large during the five or six centuries following the barbarian invasions. It rarely occurred to a medieval chronicler to describe the familiar things about him, such as the way in which the peasant lived and tilled his land. Only the conspicuous personages and the startling events caught his attention. Nevertheless, enough is known of the medieval manor and town to make them very important subjects for the student of general history.

There was little town life in western Europe before the twelfth century. The Roman towns were decreasing in population before the German inroads. The confusion which followed the invasions hastened their decline, and a great number of them disappeared altogether. Those which survived and such new towns as sprang up were, to judge from the chronicles, of very little importance during the early Middle Ages. We may therefore assume that during the long period from Theodoric to Frederick Barbarossa by far the greater part of the population of England, Germany, and northern and central France were living in the country, on the great estates belonging to the feudal lords, abbots, and bishops.[1]

[1] In Italy and southern France town life was doubtless more general.

These medieval estates were called *vills*, or *manors*, and closely resembled the Roman villas described in an earlier chapter. A portion of the estate was reserved by the lord for his own use; the rest of it was divided up among the peasants,[1] usually in long strips, of which each peasant had several scattered about the manor. The peasants were generally serfs, who did not own their fields, but could not, on the other hand, be deprived of them so long as they worked for the lord and paid him certain dues. The serfs were attached to the land and went with it when it changed hands. They were required to till those fields which the lord reserved for himself and to gather in his crops. They might not marry without their lord's permission. Their wives and children rendered such assistance as was necessary in the manor house. In the women's buildings the daughters of the serfs engaged in spinning, weaving, sewing, baking, and brewing, thus producing clothes, food, and drink to be used by the whole community.

We get our clearest ideas of the position of the serfs from the ancient descriptions of manors, which give an exact account of what each member of a particular community owed to the lord. For example, we find that the abbot of Peterborough held a manor upon which Hugh Miller and seventeen other serfs, mentioned by name, were required to work for him three days in each week during the whole year, except one week at Christmas, one at Easter, and one at Whitsuntide. Each serf was to give the lord abbot one bushel of wheat and eighteen sheaves of oats, three hens, and one cock yearly, and five eggs at Easter. If he sold his horse for more than ten shillings, he was to give the said abbot fourpence. Five other serfs are named, who held but half as much land as Hugh and his companions by paying and doing in all things half as much service.

There were sometimes a few people on the manor who did not belong to the great body of cultivators. The limits of the

[1] The peasants (French *paysans*, "countrymen") were the tillers of the soil. They were often called *villains*, a word derived from *vill*.

manor and those of the parish often coincided; in that case there would be a priest who had some scattered acres and whose standing was naturally somewhat superior to that of the people about him. Then the miller, who ground the flour and paid a substantial rent to the lord, was generally somewhat better off than his neighbors, and the same may be said of the blacksmith.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the manor was its independence of the rest of the world. It produced nearly everything that its members needed and might almost have continued to exist indefinitely without communication with those who lived beyond its bounds. Little or no money was necessary, for the peasants paid in the form of labor and farm products what was due to the lord. They also helped one another and found little occasion for buying and selling.

There was almost no opportunity to better one's condition, and life, in the greater part of the hamlets, must have gone on for generation after generation in a weary routine. The life was not merely monotonous; it was miserable. The food was coarse and there was little variety, as the peasants did not even take pains to raise fresh vegetables. The houses usually had but one room. This was ill lighted by a single small, unglazed window and had no chimney.

Yet the very dependence upon one another can hardly have failed to produce a certain spirit of brotherhood and mutual assistance in the community. It was not only separated from the outside world, but its members were brought together constantly by their intermingled fields, their attendance at one church, and their responsibility to one proprietor. The men were all expected to be present at the "court" which was held in each manor, where the business of the manor was transacted under the supervision of a representative of the lord. Here, for instance, disputes were settled, fines were imposed for the violation of the customs of the manor, and redistributions of the strips of land took place.

The Decline of Serfdom

The serf was ordinarily a bad farmer and workman. He cultivated the soil in a very crude manner, and his crops were accordingly scanty and inferior. Obviously serfdom could exist only as long as the population was sparse and land was consequently plentiful. But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries western Europe appears to have been gaining steadily in population. Serfdom would therefore naturally tend to disappear when the population so increased that the carelessly cultivated fields no longer supplied the food necessary for the growing numbers.

The increasing use of money in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which came with the awakening trade and industry, also tended to break up the manor. The old habit of bartering one thing for another without the intervention of money began to disappear. As time went on, neither the lord nor the serf was satisfied with the ancient primitive arrangements, which had answered well enough in the time of Charlemagne. The serfs, on the one hand, began to obtain money by the sale of their products in the markets of neighboring towns. They soon found it more profitable to pay the lord a certain sum instead of working for him, for they could then turn their whole attention to their own farms. The proprietors, on the other hand, found it to their advantage to accept money in place of the services of their tenants. With this money the landlord could hire laborers to cultivate his fields and could buy the luxuries which were brought to his notice as commerce increased. A serf might gain his liberty by fleeing to a town; and as town life increased, the temptations to escape became greater. If he remained undiscovered or was not reclaimed by his lord within a year and a day, he was regarded as a freeman.

All these considerations have a bearing on the ways in which medieval serfdom was gradually replaced by our modern free farmers and tenants. But the process by which serfdom was

extinguished is so complicated, and varied so throughout Europe, that even the most careful students of the matter are unable to make it very clear. There are signs of the decay of serfdom as early as the twelfth century, but in central and eastern Europe it continued almost unabated down into the nineteenth century. The lot of those who laboriously cultivate the soil and raise and tend domestic animals has almost always been a hard and miserable one. The agriculturist, upon whom we all depend for our daily food, has generally been despised and unable to combine effectively with his fellows to protect himself. Then he has to face the vicissitudes of the seasons, excessive drought and excessive rains, crop failures, and contagious diseases which attack his cows and hens and pigs. Occasionally driven to desperation, he has joined with his fellows in an uprising which was bound to fail and ordinarily has left him worse off than before.

A general emancipation of the serfs had taken place in France by the end of the thirteenth century, although as late as the revolution of 1789 there were still a million people ranked as serfs within French territory. In 1358 there was a horrible uprising of discontented peasants in northern France, —the *Jacquerie*, so called from the fact that the contemptuous common name for a peasant was Jacques, or, as we should say, "country Jake."

In England the serfs appear to have gained their freedom in the latter half of the early fifteenth century in the following manner: In 1348–1349 western Europe was ravaged by the bubonic plague, which, like other terrible epidemics, such as small pox and cholera, spread from Asia. No one in those days knew how to check or combat the disease, and those who were stricken usually died in two or three days. Reports of the number of deaths are highly unreliable, but a careful estimate seems to show that perhaps half the population of England was carried off. There were frequent complaints that certain lands were no longer of any value because all the serfs had died.

Hitherto there had been relatively few farm hands who might be hired and who sought employment anywhere that they could get it. The plague, or "Black Death," by greatly decreasing the number of laborers, raised the wages and served to increase the importance of the unattached laborer. Consequently he not only demanded higher wages than ever before but readily deserted one employer when another offered him more money.

This appeared very shocking to those who were accustomed to the traditional rates of payment, and the government undertook to keep down wages by prohibiting laborers from asking more than had been customary during the years that preceded the pestilence. Every laborer, when offered work at the established wages, was ordered to accept it on pain of imprisonment. The first "Statute of Laborers" was issued in 1351, but apparently it was not obeyed. Similar laws were enacted from time to time for a century, but complaints continued that serfs and laborers persisted in demanding "outrageous and excessive hire."

The old manor system was breaking up. Many of the laboring class in the country no longer held land as serfs, but moved from place to place and made a living by working for wages. The *villain*, as the serf was called in England, began to regard the dues which he had been accustomed to pay his lord as unjust. A petition to Parliament in 1377 asserts that the villains are refusing to pay their customary services to their lords or to acknowledge the obligations which they owe as serfs.

The discontent was becoming general. We see it reflected in a remarkable poem of the time, "The Vision of Piers Plowman," in which the unfortunate position of the peasant is vividly portrayed.[1] This is only the most notable example of a great number of pamphlets, some in prose and some in bad verse, which were calculated to make the people more discontented than ever. The efforts to enforce the provisions of the

[1] For extracts see *Readings*, chap. xx.

Statutes of Laborers had undoubtedly produced much friction between the landlords and their employees. A new form of taxation also caused much irritation. A general poll tax, which was to be paid by everyone above sixteen years of age, was established in 1379, and another one in the following year, to meet the expenses of the hopeless French war which was now being conducted by incapable and highly unpopular ministers.

In 1381 rioting began among the peasants in Kent and Essex, and several bodies of the insurgents determined to march upon London. As they passed along the road their ranks were swelled by discontented villagers and by many of the poorer workingmen from the towns. Soon the revolt spread all through southern and eastern England. The peasants burned some of the houses of the gentry and of the rich ecclesiastics and took particular pains to see that the lists for the collection of the hated poll tax were destroyed, as well as the registers kept by the various lords enumerating the obligations of their serfs. Some of the simple people imagined that they might induce the boy king, Richard II, to become their leader. He had no idea of aiding them; he went out, however, to meet them and induced them to disperse by promising that he would abolish serfdom.

Although the king did not keep his promise, serfdom decayed rapidly. It became more and more common for the serf to pay his dues to the lord in money instead of working for him, and in this way he lost one of the chief characteristics of a serf. The landlord then either hired men to cultivate the fields which he reserved for his own use or rented the land to tenants. These tenants were not in a position to force their fellow tenants on the manor to pay the full dues which had formerly been exacted by the lord. Sixty or seventy years after the Peasants' War the English rural population had in one way or another become free men, and serfs had almost entirely disappeared.

Germany was far more backward. We shall find the peasants rebelling against their hard lot in Luther's time and com-

ing out of the conflict worse off than ever. Not until Napoleon's time did Prussia abolish serfdom. It continued some decades longer in eastern Europe, and only in 1861 were the millions of Russian serfs nominally freed. The World War, beginning in 1914, tended to give a final blow to the long-standing pretensions of the great landlords of eastern Europe.

The Importance of Town Life

It is hardly necessary to point out that the gradual reappearance of town life in western Europe is of the greatest interest to the student of history. The cities had been the centers of Greek and Roman civilization, and in our own time they dominate the life, culture, and business enterprise of the world. Were they to disappear, our whole life, even in the country, would necessarily undergo a profound change and tend to become primitive again like that of the age of Charlemagne.

A great part of the medieval towns, of which we begin to have some scanty records about the year 1000, appear to have originated on the manors of feudal lords or about a monastery or castle. The French name for town, *ville*, is derived from *vill*, the name of the manor. The need of protection was probably the usual reason for establishing a town with a wall about it, so that the neighboring country people might find safety in it when attacked. The way in which a medieval town was built seems to justify this conclusion. It was generally crowded and compact compared with its more luxurious Roman predecessors. Aside from the market place there were few or no open spaces. There were no amphitheaters or public baths as in the Roman cities. The streets were often mere alleys over which the jutting stories of the high houses almost met. The high, thick wall that surrounded it prevented its extending easily and rapidly as our cities do nowadays.

All towns outside of Italy were evidently small in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and, like the manors on which

they had grown up, they had little commerce as yet with the outside world. They produced almost all that their inhabitants needed except the farm products which came from the neighboring country. There was likely to be little expansion so long as the town remained under the absolute control of the lord or monastery upon whose land it was situated. The townspeople were scarcely more than serfs, in spite of the fact that they lived within a wall and engaged in industry instead of farming. They had to pay irritating dues to their lord, just as if they still formed a farming community. The emancipation of the townsmen from their lords and the establishment of a suitable form of government for their town were necessary preliminaries to the free development of town life.

With the increase of trade came the longing for this freedom. For when new and attractive commodities began to be brought from the East and the South, the people of the towns were encouraged to produce goods with the idea of exchanging them at some neighboring fair for the products of distant lands. But no sooner did the townsmen begin to engage in manufacturing and to enter into relations with the outside world than they became conscious that they were greatly hampered by their half-servile condition and were subject to exactions and restrictions which would render progress impossible. Consequently, during the twelfth century there were many insurrections of the towns against their lords and a general demand that the lords should grant the townsmen *charters* in which the rights of both parties should be definitely stated.

In France the citizens organized themselves into what were called *communes,* or unions, for the purpose of gaining their independence. This word "commune" appeared a new and detestable one to the lords, for to their minds it was merely another name for a company of serfs leagued against their masters. It had the implications of the recent term "soviet" to those who dread the prospect of disorder. The nobles sometimes put down the insurrections of their townsmen with great

cruelty. On the other hand, the lords often realized that they would increase the prosperity of their towns by granting them freedom from arbitrary taxation and by permitting them to govern themselves. In England the towns gained their privileges more gradually, by purchasing them from the lords.

The town charters were written contracts between the lord and the commune or the guild of merchants of a town. The charter served at once as the certificate of birth of the town and as its constitution. It contained a promise on the part of the lord or king to recognize the existence of the guild of merchants. It limited the rights of the lord in calling the townsmen before his court and fining them, and enumerated the taxes which he might exact from the townspeople. The old dues and services were either abolished or changed into money payments.

King Henry II of England promised the inhabitants of Wallingford that "wheresoever they shall go on their journeys as merchants through my whole land of England and Normandy, Aquitaine and Anjou, by water and by strand, by wood and by land, they shall be free from toll and passage fees and from all customs and exactions; nor are they to be troubled in this respect by anyone under penalty of ten pounds." In the case of the town of Southampton he concedes "that my men of Hampton shall have and hold their guild and all their liberties and customs, by land and by sea, in as good, peaceable, just, free, quiet, and honorable a manner as they had the same most freely and quietly in the time of King Henry, my grandfather; and let no one upon this do them any injury or insult."

The customs of the times, as revealed in the charters, seem to us very primitive. We find in the charter of the French town of Saint-Omer, in 1168, provisions like the following: He who shall commit a murder in the town shall not find an asylum anywhere within the walls. If he shall seek to escape punishment by flight, his buildings shall be torn down and his goods confiscated; nor may he come back into the town unless he

be first reconciled with the relatives of his victim and pay ten pounds, of which a half shall go to the lord's representatives and the other half to the commune, to be spent on its fortifications. He who strikes another one in the town shall pay one hundred sous; he who pulls out the hair of another shall pay forty sous, etc.

Many of the towns had, as a visible sign of their freedom, a belfry, a high building with a watchtower, where a guard was kept day and night in order that the bell might be rung in case of approaching danger. It contained an assembly hall, where the commune held its meetings, and a prison. In the fourteenth century the wonderful town halls began to be erected which, with the exception of the cathedrals and other churches, are usually the most remarkable buildings which the traveler sees today in the old commercial cities of Europe.

Medieval Industry and Commerce

The tradesmen in the medieval towns were at once artisans and merchants: they not only made but offered for sale the articles which they produced in their shops. In addition to the original guild of merchants which helped the towns to gain and preserve their privileges, many new corporations of tradesmen grew up, the so-called *craft guilds*. The oldest statutes of a guild in Paris are those of the candle-makers, which go back to 1061. The number of trades differed greatly in different towns, but the guilds all had the same object—to prevent anyone from practicing a trade who had not been duly admitted to the corporation.

A young man had to spend several years in learning his trade. He lived in the house of a master workman as an apprentice, but received no remuneration. He then became a "journeyman" and could earn wages, although he could still work only for master workmen and not directly for the public. The journeyman might eventually become a master workman if he was

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NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
To Iceland
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Lubec
Hamburg
Bremen
Stralsund
Magdeb
Brunswick
Antwerp
Ghent
Boulogne
Cologne
Leipzi
Marence
Bristol
London
Bruges
Southampton
Seine
Paris
Orleans
Strasbourg
Rhine
Nuremb
Tours
Basel
Munich
Augsburg
Chalon
Lyon
Brenner Pass
Bordeaux
Milan
Verona
Venice
Genoa
Bologna
Pisa
Florence
Narbonne
Rhone
Barcelona
Marseille
Lisbon
Cordova
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Messina
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Venetian Galleys in the 14th Century
COMMERCIAL TOWNS
AND TRADE ROUTES
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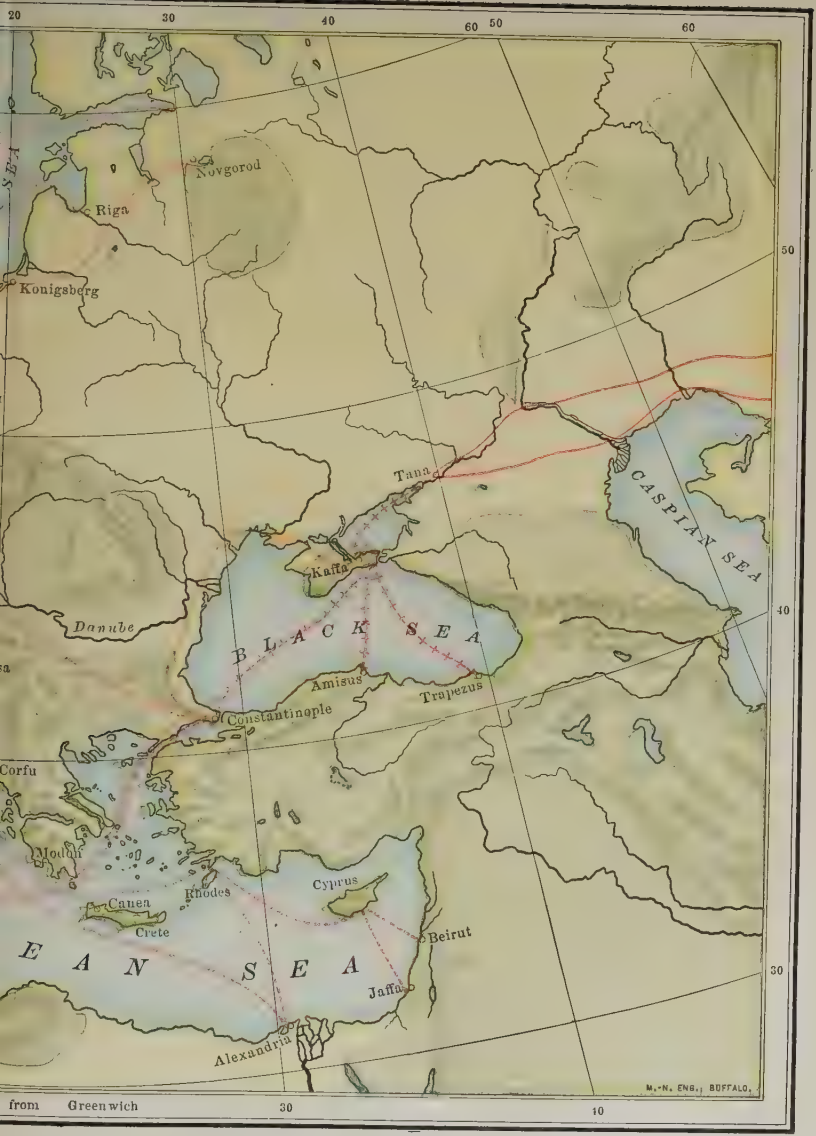
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Trapezus
Constantinople
Corfu
Modon
Cyprus
Rhodes
Canea
Crete
Beirut
EAN SEA
Jaffa
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Alexandria
M.-N. ENG., BUFFALO.
from Greenwich
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skillful and had money enough to buy the business. A simple trade might be learned in three years, but to become a goldsmith one must be an apprentice for ten years. The number of apprentices that a master workman might employ was strictly limited, in order that the journeymen might not become too numerous. The way in which each trade was to be practiced was carefully regulated, as well as the time that should be spent in work each day. The system of guilds discouraged enterprise, but maintained a uniform efficiency everywhere. Had it not been for these unions the defenseless, isolated workmen, serfs as they had formerly been, would have found it impossible to secure freedom and municipal independence from the feudal lords who had formerly been their masters.

The chief reason for the growth of the towns and their increasing prosperity was a great development of trade throughout western Europe. Commerce had pretty much disappeared with the decline of the Roman roads and the general disorganization produced by the barbarian invasions. There was no one in the Middle Ages to mend the ancient Roman roads. The great network of highways from Persia to Britain fell apart when independent nobles or poor local communities took the place of a great empire. All trade languished, for there was little demand for those articles of luxury which the Roman communities in the North had been accustomed to obtain from the South. There was little money and scarcely any notion of luxury, for the nobility lived a simple life in their dreary and rudely furnished castles.

In Italy, however, trade does not seem to have altogether ceased. Venice, Genoa, Amalfi, and other towns appear to have developed a considerable Mediterranean commerce even before the Crusades. Their merchants, as we have seen, supplied the destitute crusaders with the materials necessary for the conquest of Jerusalem. The passion for pilgrimages offered inducements to the Italian merchants for expeditions to the Orient, whither they transported the pilgrims, returning with

the products of the East. The Italian cities established trading stations in the East and carried on a direct traffic with the caravans which brought to the shores of the Mediterranean the products of Arabia, Persia, India, and the Spice Islands. The southern French towns and Barcelona entered also into commercial relations with the Mohammedans in northern Africa.

This progress in the South could not but stir the lethargy of the rest of Europe. The new commerce encouraged a revolution in industry. So long as the manor system prevailed and each man was occupied in producing only what he and the other members of his group needed, there was nothing to send abroad and nothing to exchange for luxuries; but when merchants began to come with tempting articles, the members of a community were encouraged to produce a surplus of goods above what they themselves needed, and to sell or exchange this surplus for commodities coming from a distance. Merchants and artisans gradually directed their energies toward the production of what others wished, as well as what was needed by the little group to which they belonged.

The romances of the twelfth century indicate that the West was astonished and delighted by the luxuries of the East—the rich fabrics, oriental carpets, precious stones, perfumes, drugs (such as camphor and laudanum), silks and porcelains from China, spices from India, and cotton from Egypt. Venice introduced the silk industry from the East and the manufacture of those glass articles which the traveler may still buy in the Venetian shops. The West learned how to make silk and velvet, as well as light and gauzy cotton and linen fabrics. The Eastern dyes were introduced, and Paris was soon imitating the tapestries of the Saracens. In exchange for those luxuries which they were unable to produce, the Flemish towns sent their woolen cloths to the East, and Italy its wines. But there was apparently always a considerable cash balance to be paid to the Oriental merchants, since the West could not produce

as yet a sufficient variety of marketable articles to pay by exchange for all those it imported from the Orient.

The Northern merchants dealt mainly with Venice, and brought their wares across the Brenner Pass and down the Rhine, or sent them by sea to be exchanged in Flanders. By the thirteenth century important centers of trade had come into being, some of which are still among the great commercial towns of the world. Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen carried on active trade with the countries on the Baltic and with England. Augsburg and Nuremberg, in the south of Germany, became important on account of their situation on the line of trade between Italy and the North. Bruges and Ghent sent their manufactures everywhere. English commerce was relatively unimportant, as yet, compared with that of the great ports of the Mediterranean.

The Obstacles to Trade

A word must be said of the numerous and almost incredible obstacles in the way of commerce in the Middle Ages. There was very little of that freedom which we now regard as essential to successful business. Our wholesale dealers would have been considered an abomination in the Middle Ages. Those who bought up a quantity of a commodity in order to sell it at a high rate were called by the ugly name of *forestallers*. It was universally believed that everything had a "just" price, which was merely enough to cover the cost of the materials used in its manufacture and remunerate the maker for the work he had put upon it. It was considered outrageous to sell a thing for more than the just price, no matter how anxious the purchaser might be to obtain it. Every manufacturer was required to keep a shop in which he offered at retail all that he made. Those who lived near a town were permitted to sell their products in the market place within the walls on condition that they sold directly to the consumers. They might not dispose of

their whole stock to one dealer, for fear that if he had all there was of a commodity he might raise the price above a just one.

Akin to these prejudices against wholesale trade was that against interest. Money was believed to be a dead and sterile thing, and no one had a right to demand any return for lending it. Interest was wicked, since it was exacted by those who took advantage of the embarrassments of others. Usury, as the taking of even the most moderate and reasonable rate of interest was then called, was strenuously forbidden by the laws of the Church. We find Church councils ordering that impenitent usurers should be refused Christian burial and have their wills annulled. So money-lending, necessary to all great commercial and industrial undertakings, was left to the Jews, from whom Christian conduct was not expected.

This ill-starred people played a most important part in the economic development of Europe, but they were terribly maltreated by the Christians, who held them guilty of the supreme crime of putting Christ to death. The active persecution of the Jews did not, however, become common before the thirteenth century, when they first began to be required to wear a peculiar cap, or badge, which made them easily recognized and exposed them to constant insult. Later they were sometimes shut up in a particular quarter of the city, called the Jewry (in Italy, the *Ghetto*). Since they were excluded from the guilds, they not unnaturally turned to the business of money-lending, which no Christian might practice. Undoubtedly their occupation had much to do in causing their unpopularity. The kings permitted them to make loans, often at a most exorbitant rate; Philip Augustus allowed them to exact 46 per cent, but reserved the right to extort their gains from them when the royal treasury was empty. In England the usual rate was a penny a pound for each week.

In the thirteenth century the Italians ("Lombards") began to go into a sort of banking business and greatly extended the employment of bills of exchange. They lent for nothing,

but exacted damages for all delay in repayment. This appeared reasonable and right even to those who condemned ordinary interest. Capitalists, moreover, could contribute money toward an enterprise and share the profits as long as no interest was exacted. In these and other ways the obstacles offered by the prejudice against interest were much reduced, and large commercial companies came into existence, especially in Italy.

Another serious disadvantage which the medieval merchant had to face was the payment of an infinite number of tolls and duties which were exacted by the lords through whose domains his way passed. Not only were duties exacted on the highways, at bridges, and at the fords, but those barons who were so fortunate as to have castles on a navigable river blocked the stream in such a way that the merchant could not bring his vessel through without a payment for the privilege. The charges were usually small, but the way in which they were exacted and the repeated delays must have been a serious source of irritation and loss to the merchants. For example, a certain monastery lying between Paris and the sea required that those hastening to town with fresh fish should stop and let the monks pick out what they thought worth threepence, with little regard to the condition in which they left the goods. When a boat laden with wine passed up the Seine to Paris, the agent of the lord of Poissy could have three casks broached and, after trying them all, could take a measure from the one he liked best. At the markets all sorts of dues had to be paid, such, for example, as payments for using the lord's scales or his measuring rod. Besides this, the great variety of coinage which existed in feudal Europe caused infinite perplexity and delay.

Commerce by sea had its own particular trials, by no means confined to the hazards of wind and wave, rock and shoal. Pirates were numerous in the North Sea. They were often organized and sometimes led by men of high rank, who appear to have regarded the business as no disgrace. Then there were the so-called *strand laws*, according to which a ship with its

cargo became the property of the owner of the coast upon which it might be wrecked or driven ashore. Lighthouses and beacons were few and the coasts dangerous. Moreover, natural dangers were increased by false signals which wreckers used to lure ships to shore in order to plunder them.

With a view to mitigating these manifold perils, the towns early began to form unions for mutual defense. The most famous of these was that of the German cities, called the Hanseatic League. Lübeck was always the leader; but among the seventy towns which at one time and another were included in the confederation we find Cologne, Brunswick, Danzig, and other centers of great importance. The union purchased and controlled settlements in London (the so-called *Steelyard* near London Bridge), at Wisby, Bergen, and the far-off Novgorod in Russia. They managed to monopolize nearly the whole trade on the Baltic and North seas, either through treaties or the influence that they were able to bring to bear.

The League made war on the pirates and did much to reduce the dangers of traffic. Instead of dispatching separate and defenseless merchantmen, their ships sailed out in fleets under the protection of a man-of-war. On one occasion the League undertook a successful war against the king of Denmark, who had interfered with their interests. At another time it declared war on England and brought her to terms. For two hundred years before the discovery of America the League played a great part in the commercial affairs of western Europe, but it had begun to decline even before the discovery of new routes to the East and West Indies revolutionized trade.

It should be observed that during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries trade was not carried on between nations, but by the various towns, such as Venice, Lübeck, Ghent, Bruges, Cologne. A merchant did not act or trade as an independent individual but as a member of a particular merchant guild, and he enjoyed the protection of his town and of the treaties it arranged. If a merchant from a certain town failed

to pay a debt, a fellow townsman might be seized where the debt was due. At the period of which we have been speaking an inhabitant of London was considered a foreigner or an alien in Bristol, just as was the merchant from Cologne or Antwerp. Only gradually did the towns merge into the nations to which their people belonged.

The increasing wealth of the merchants could not fail to raise them to a position of importance in society which they had not hitherto enjoyed. Their prosperity enabled them to vie with the clergy in education and with the nobility in the luxury of their dwellings and surroundings. They began to give some attention to reading, and as early as the fourteenth century many of the books appear to have been written with a view to meeting their tastes and needs. Representatives of the towns were called into the councils of the king, who was obliged to take their advice along with their contributions to the support of the government. The rise of the burgher class alongside the older orders of the clergy and nobility, which had so long dominated the life of western Europe, is one of the most momentous changes of the thirteenth century.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CULTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Languages, Old and New

The interest of the Middle Ages lies by no means exclusively in the struggle of kings and emperors, their victories and defeats; in the policy of popes and bishops; or even in serfdom and feudalism, and Europe's escape from them. Important as all these are, we should have but a very imperfect idea of the period if we left it without considering the intellectual life and the art of the time, the books that were written, the universities that were founded, and the cathedrals that were built.

To begin with, the Middle Ages differed from our own time in the very general use then made of Latin, both in writing and speaking. In the thirteenth century and long after, all books that made any claim to learning were written in Latin;[1] the professors in the universities lectured in Latin; friends wrote to one another in Latin; and state papers, treaties, and legal documents were drawn up in the same language.

The ability of every educated person to make use of Latin, as well as of his native tongue, was a great advantage at a time when there were many obstacles to intercourse among the various nations. It helps to explain, for example, the remarkable way in which the Pope kept in touch with all the clergymen of Western Christendom, and the ease with which students, friars, and merchants could wander from one country to another. There is no more interesting or important revolution than that by which the language of the people in the vari-

[1] In Germany the books published annually in the German language did not exceed those in Latin until after 1680.

ous European countries gradually pushed aside the ancient tongue and took its place, so that now even scholars seldom think of writing books in Latin.

In order to understand how it came about that two languages, the Latin and the native speech, were both commonly used in all the countries of western Europe all through the Middle Ages, we must glance at the origin of the modern languages. These all fall into two quite distinct groups, the Germanic and the Romance.

Those German peoples who had continued to live outside the Roman Empire, or who, during the invasions, had not settled far enough within its bounds to be led, like the Franks in Gaul, to adopt the tongue of those they had conquered, naturally adhered to the language they had always used; namely, the particular Germanic dialect which their forefathers had spoken for untold generations. From the various languages spoken by the German barbarians, modern German, English, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Icelandic are derived.

The second group of languages developed within the territory which had formed a part of the Roman Empire, and includes modern French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. It has now been clearly proved, by a very minute study of the old forms of words, that these Romance languages were one and all derived from the *spoken* Latin, employed by the soldiers, merchants, and people at large. This differed considerably from the elaborate and elegant *written* Latin which was used, for example, by Cicero and Cæsar. It was undoubtedly much simpler in its grammar, and doubtless varied a good deal in different regions; a Gaul, for instance, could not pronounce the words like an Italian. Moreover, in conversation people did not always use the same words as those in the books. For example, a horse was commonly spoken of as *caballus*, whereas a writer would use the word *equus*; it is from *caballus* that the word for horse is derived in Spanish, Italian, and French (*caballo*, *cavallo*, *cheval*, respectively).

As time went on, the spoken language diverged farther and farther from the written. Latin is a troublesome speech on account of its complicated inflections and grammatical rules, which can be mastered only after a great deal of study. The people of the Roman provinces and the incoming barbarians naturally paid very little attention to the niceties of syntax and found easy ways of saying what they wished.[1] Yet several centuries elapsed after the German invasions before there was anything written in the language of conversation. So long as the uneducated could understand the correct Latin of the books when they heard it read or spoken, there was no necessity of writing anything in their familiar daily speech. But the gulf between the spoken and the written language had become so great by the time Charlemagne came to the throne that he advised that sermons should be given thereafter in the language of the people, who, apparently, could no longer follow the Latin. The Strasbourg oaths[2] are, however, about the first example which has come down to us of the speech that was growing into French.

A French scholar has ingeniously illustrated, by the parallel columns on the opposite page, the more important stages in the progress from the ancient Latin to the French as it is written today.

As for the Germanic languages, one at least was reduced to writing even before the break-up of the Empire. An Eastern bishop, Ulfilas (d. 381), had undertaken to convert the Goths while they were still living north of the Danube, before the battle of Adrianople. In order to carry on his work, Ulfilas translated a great part of the Bible into Gothic, using the Greek letters to represent the sounds. With the single excep-

[1] Even the monks and others who wrote Latin in the Middle Ages were unable to follow strictly the rules of the language. Moreover, they introduced many new words to meet the new conditions and the needs of the time, such as *imprisonare*, "to imprison"; *utlagare*, "to outlaw"; *baptizare*, "to baptize"; *foresta*, "forest"; *feudum*, "fief," etc.

[2] See page 118.

Classical Latin

Per Dei amorem et per christiani populi et nostram communem salutem, ab hac die, quantum Deus scire et posse mihi dat, servabo hunc meum fratrem Carolum, et ope mea et in quacumque re, ut quilibet fratrem suum servare jure debet, dummodo mecum idem agat, et cum Clotario nullam unquam pactionem faciam, quae mea voluntate huic meo fratri Carolo damno sit.

Conjectural Spoken Language of the Transition Period

Pro deo amore et pro christiano popolo et nostro commune salvamento de esto die in abante, in quanto deos sapēre et potēre me donat, sic salvaraio eo eccesto mem fratre Karlo et in adjutare et in catuna causa sic qomo omo per drecto som fratre salvare debet, in o qued elle me altero sic faciat, et ab Luthero nullo placito nunquam prenderaio, qui mem volere eccesto mem fratre Karlo in damno sit.

Strasbourg Oath (842)

Pro deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun saluament, d'ist di en avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, sî salvarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo, et in aiudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dift, in o quid il mi altresi fazet, et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit.

French of the Eleventh Century, Period of the Song of Roland

Por dieu amor et por del crestiien poeple et nostre comun salvement, de cest jor en avant, quant que Dieus saveir et podeir me donet, si salverai io cest mien fredre Charlon, et en aiude, et en chascune chose, si come on par dreit son fredre salver deit, en ço que il me altresi façet, et a Lodher nul plait oncques ne prendrai, qui mien vueil cest mien fredre Charlon en dam sit.

Middle French, Opening of the Fifteenth Century

Pour l'amour Dieu et pour le sauvement du chrestien peuple et le nostre commun, de cest jour en avant, quant que Dieu savoir et pouvoir me donet, si sauverai je cet mien frere Charle, et par mon aide et en chascune chose, si comme on doit par droit son frere sauver, en ce qu'il me face autresi, et avec Lothaire nul plaid onques ne prendrai, qui, à mon veuil, à ce mien frere Charles soit à dan.

French of Today

Pour l'amour de Dieu et pour le salut commun du peuple chrétien et le nôtre, à partir de ce jour, autant que Dieu m'en donne le savoir et le pouvoir, je soutiendrai mon frère Charles de mon aide et en toute chose, comme on doit justement soutenir son frère, à condition qu'il m'en fasse autant, et je ne prendrai jamais aucun arrangement avec Lothaire, qui, à ma volonté, soit au détriment de mon dit frère Charles.

tion of the Gothic, there is no example of writing in any German language before Charlemagne's time.

There is no doubt, however, that the Germans possessed an unwritten literature, which was passed down by word of mouth for several centuries before any of it was written out. Charlemagne caused certain ancient poems to be collected, which presumably celebrated the great deeds of the German heroes during the invasions. These invaluable specimens of ancient

German are said to have been destroyed by the order of Louis the Pious, who was shocked by their paganism. The great German epic, the *Song of the Niebelungs*, was not reduced to writing until the end of the twelfth century, after it had been transmitted orally for many generations.

The oldest form of English, commonly called Anglo-Saxon, is so different from the English of today that one who wishes to read it must learn it almost like a foreign tongue. We hear of an English poet, Cædmon, as early as Bede's time, a century before Charlemagne. A manuscript of an Anglo-Saxon epic, called *Beowulf*, has been preserved which belongs perhaps to the close of the eighth century. The interest which King Alfred displayed in the mother tongue has already been mentioned. This old form of our language prevailed until after the Norman Conquest; the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which does not close until 1154, is in pure Anglo-Saxon.

From the little example of Anglo-Saxon given below one can form some notion of the general appearance of English as it was written from the time of Alfred to that of Henry II. The characters ð (capital, Ð) and þ both stand for *th*. A writer used whichever he liked, ð or þ; but as time went on it seems to have been more and more felt that þ looked best at the beginning of a word, ð elsewhere. The sign ⁊ means "and."

A little study and comparison with the translation will show that almost all the words used correspond to those with which we are familiar in our own modern speech.

Her on þissum geare Willelm cyng geaf Rodberde eorle þone eorl dom on Norð hymbra land. Ða comon þa landes menn togeanes him. ⁊ hine ofslogon. ⁊ ·ix· hund manna mid him. And Eadgar æðeling com þa mid eallum Norð hymbram to Eofer wîc. ⁊ þa port men wið hine griðedon. ⁊ se cyng Willelm com suðan mid eallan his fyrde. ⁊ þa burh for hergode. ⁊ fela hund manna of sloh. ⁊ se æðeling for eft to Scotlande.

In this year [1068] King William gave to Earl Robert the earldom of Northumberland. Then came the men of the country against

him [Robert], and slew him, and nine hundred men with him. And Edgar Ætheling came then with all the Northumbrians to York, and the townsmen made peace with him. And King William came from the south with all his force, and ravaged the town, and slew many hundred men. And the ætheling went back again to Scotland.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, English begins to look pretty familiar from our standpoint, although at first glance a word may frequently be disguised by the spelling, which has since varied a good deal. The following occurs in a thirteenth-century metrical version of the Book of Genesis:

And Aaron held up his hond
To the water and the more lond;
Tho cam thor up schwilc froschkes here
The dede al folc Egipte dere;
Somme woren wilde, and summe tame,
And tho hem deden the moste schame;
In huse, in drinc, in metes, in bed,
It cropen and maden hem for-dred.[1]

In the fourteenth century, English was written with great force and beauty, especially in Chaucer's delightful tales and in Wycliffe's religious tracts and his translation of the Bible.

The following example of Chaucer's language is taken from the opening of "The Knight's Tale," written about 1387 or later:

Whilom, as olde stories tellen us,
Ther was a duk that highte Theseus;
Of Athens he was lord and governour,
And in his tyme swich a conquerour,
That gretter was ther non under the sonne.

[1] This may be modernized as follows:

And Aaron held up his hand
To the water and the greater land;
Then came there up such host of frogs
That did all Egypt's folk harm;
Some were wild and some were tame,
And those caused them the most shame;
In house, in drink, in meats, in bed,
They crept and made them in great dread.

The prose of Wycliffe may be illustrated by a paragraph from one of his sermons written a few years earlier than Chaucer's verses:

And Crist sitting, clepide [=called] thes twelve, and seide, "yif ony of you wole be the firste, he shal be the laste of alle and servant of alle, for he must be moost meke of alle other." And Crist take a child, and putte him in the middil of hem; the which child whanne Crist hadde biclippid, he seide thus to hem, "Who ever takith oon of thes children in my name resseyveth me, and whoever resseyveth me, resseyveth not me, but my fadir." And, for this lore is profitable to governaile of holy Chirche, therfore seith Crist, as he seith ofte, "He that hath eeris to heere, heere he."

English literature was destined one day to arouse the admiration of the peoples across the Channel and to exercise an important influence upon other literatures. In the Middle Ages, however, French, not English, was the most important of the vernacular languages of western Europe. In France a vast literature was produced in the language of the people during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, profoundly affecting the books written in Italy, Spain, Germany, and England.

The Troubadours and Chivalry

Two quite different languages had gradually developed in France from the spoken Latin of the Roman Empire. If a line were drawn on the map from La Rochelle (on the Atlantic) eastward to the Alps, crossing the Rhone a little below Lyon, it would give a general idea of the limits of the two tongues. To the north, French was spoken; to the south, in a region bounded by the Pyrenees and the Alps, Provençal.[1]

[1] Of course there was no sharp line of demarcation between the people who used the one language and the other, nor was Provençal confined to southern France. The language of Catalonia, beyond the Pyrenees, was essentially the same as that of Provence. French was called *langue d'oïl* (*d'oui*), and the Southern language *langue d'oc*, each after the word used for "yes."

Very little in the ancient French language written before the year 1100 has been preserved. The West Franks undoubtedly began much earlier to sing of their heroes—of the great deeds of Clovis, Dagobert, and Charles Martel. These famous rulers were, however, later completely overshadowed by Charlemagne, who became the unrivaled hero of medieval poetry and romance. It was believed that he had reigned for a hundred and twenty-five years, and the most marvelous exploits were attributed to him and his knights. He was supposed, for instance, to have led a crusade to Jerusalem. Such themes as these—more legend than history—were woven into long epics, which were the first written literature of the Frankish people. These poems, combined with the stories of adventure, developed a spirit of patriotic enthusiasm among the French which made them regard "fair France" as the especial care of Providence.

It is little wonder that the best and most striking example of these long poems came to be looked upon as the national epic of the French. This is the *Song of Roland*, which, scholars generally agree, was probably written just before the First Crusade—that is, before the year 1100. It tells the story of Charlemagne's retreat from Spain, during which Roland, one of his commanders, lost his life in a romantic encounter in the defiles of the Pyrenees (see page 109, n.2).

That death was on him he knew full well;
Down from his head to his heart it fell.
On the grass beneath a pine tree's shade,
With face to earth, his form he laid,
Beneath him placed he his horn and sword,
And turned his face to the heathen horde.
Thus hath he done the sooth to show,
That Karl and his warriors all may know,
That the gentle count a conqueror died.[1]

[1] The *Song of Roland* has been translated into spirited English verse by O'Hagan (London, 1880).

In the latter part of the twelfth century the romances of King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table begin to appear. These enjoyed great popularity in all western Europe for centuries, and they are by no means forgotten yet. Arthur, of whose historical existence no one can be quite sure, was supposed to have been king of Britain shortly after the Saxons gained a foothold in the island. In other long poems of the time Alexander the Great, Cæsar, and other ancient worthies appear as heroes. The absolute disregard of historical facts, and the tendency to represent the warriors of Troy and Rome as medieval knights, show the inability of the medieval mind to understand that the past could have been different from the present. All these romances are full of picturesque adventures and present a vivid but fantastic and misleading picture of the valor and loyalty of the true knight, as well as of his ruthlessness and contempt for human life.[1]

Besides the long and elaborate epics, like *Roland*, and the romances in verse and prose, there were numberless short stories in verse (the *fabliaux*), which usually dealt with the incidents of everyday life, especially with the comical ones. Then there were the fables, the most famous of which are the stories of Reynard the Fox, which were satires upon the customs of the time, particularly the weaknesses of the priests and monks.

Turning now to southern France, the beautiful songs of the *troubadours*, which were the glory of the Provençal tongue, reveal a gay and sophisticated society at the courts of the numerous feudal princes. The rulers not only protected and encouraged the poets but also aspired to be poets themselves and to enter the ranks of the troubadours, as the composers of

[1] The reader will find a beautiful example of a French romance of the twelfth century in the English translation of *Aucassin and Nicolette*. Mr. Steele gives charming stories of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in *Huon of Bordeaux*, *Renaud of Montauban*, and the *Story of Alexander* (George Allen & Company, London). Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, a collection of the stories of the Round Table made in the fifteenth century for English readers, is the best place to turn for these famous stories.

these elegant verses were called. These songs were always sung to an accompaniment on some instrument, usually the lute. Those who merely sang them, without being themselves poets, were called *jongleurs*. The troubadours and jongleurs traveled from court to court, not only in France but north into Germany and south into Italy, carrying with them the southern French poetry and customs. We have few examples of Provençal before the year 1100; but from that time on, for two centuries, countless songs were written, and many of the troubadours enjoyed an international reputation. The terrible Albigensian crusade brought misery and death into the sprightly circles which had gathered about the count of Toulouse and others who had treated the heretics too leniently. But the literary critic traces signs of decline in the Provençal verse even before this disaster.

For the student of history the chief interest of the epics of northern France and the songs of the South lies in the insight that they give into the romantic aspirations of this feudal period.[1] These are usually summed up in the term *chivalry*, or *knighthood*, of which a word may properly be said here, since we should know little of it were it not for the literature of which we have been speaking. The knights play the chief rôle in all the medieval romances; and as many of the troubadours belonged to the knightly class, they naturally have much to say of it in their songs.

Chivalry was not a formal institution established at any particular moment. Like feudalism, with which it was closely connected, it had no founder, but appeared spontaneously throughout western Europe to meet the needs and desires of the period. We learn from Tacitus that even in his time the Germans considered the moment a solemn one when the young warrior was first invested with the arms of a soldier. "This

[1] The French scholar Bédier reaches the conclusion, after careful study, that the medieval romances give very erroneous impressions of the actual conditions of the period when they were written.

was the sign that the youth had reached manhood; this was his first honor." It is probably a survival of this feeling which we find in the idea of knighthood. When the youth of good family had been carefully trained to ride his horse, use his sword, and manage his hawk in the hunt, he was made a *knight* by a ceremony in which the Church took part, although the knighthood was actually conferred by an older knight.

The knight was a Christian soldier, and he and his fellows were supposed to form, in a way, a separate order with high ideals of the conduct befitting their class. Knighthood was not, however, membership in an association with officers and a written constitution. It was an ideal, half-imaginary society, —a society to which even those who enjoyed the title of "king" or "duke" were proud to belong. One was not born a knight as he might be born a duke or count—he could become one only through the ceremony mentioned above. One might be a noble and still not belong to the knightly order, and, on the other hand, one baseborn might be raised to knighthood on account of some valorous deed.

The knight must, in the first place, be a Christian and must obey and defend the Church on all occasions. He must respect all forms of weakness and defend the helpless wherever he might find them. He must fight the infidel ceaselessly, pitilessly, and never give way before the enemy. He must perform all his feudal duties, be faithful in all things to his lord, and never lie or violate his plighted word. He must be generous and give freely and ungrudgingly to the needy. He must be faithful to his lady and be ready to defend her person and her honor at all costs. Everywhere he must be the champion of the right against injustice and oppression. In short, chivalry was the Christianized profession of arms.

In the stories of King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table there is a beautiful picture of the ideal knight. The dead Lancelot is addressed by one of his sorrowing companions as follows:

Thou wert the courtliest knight that ever bare shield, and thou wert the truest friend to thy lover that ever bestrode horse, and thou wert the truest lover of a sinful man [that is, among sinful men] that ever loved woman, and thou wert the kindest man that ever struck with sword, and thou wert the goodliest person that ever came among the press of knights, and thou wert the meekest man and the gentlest that ever ate in hall among ladies, and thou wert the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever put spear in breast.

The Germans also made their contribution to the literature of chivalry. The German poets of the thirteenth century are called *minnesingers*. Like the troubadours, whom they greatly admired, they usually sang of love (German *Minne*). The most famous of the minnesingers was Walther von der Vogelweide (d. about 1228), whose songs are full of charm and of enthusiasm for his German fatherland. Wolfram von Eschenbach (d. about 1225), in his story of *Parsifal*, gives the long and sad adventures of a knight in search of the Holy Grail, the sacred vessel which had held the blood of Christ. Only those perfectly pure in thought, word, and deed could hope to behold it. Parsifal failed to speak a word of sympathy to a suffering man and was forced to undergo a long atonement. At last he learned that only through pity and humility and faith in God could he hope to find the Grail.

The chivalry depicted in the *Song of Roland* and the more serious poems of northern France is of a severe type, in which the service of the Church, especially against the infidel, and the obligations to the feudal suzerain have the predominant place. On the other hand, in the Arthurian legends and, above all, in the songs of the troubadours the ideal conduct of a polished and valorous gentleman, especially toward the lady of his choice, finds expression. The later romances of chivalry (in the fourteenth and following centuries) deal very largely with knighthood in the latter sense. No one, indeed, any longer thought of fighting the infidel; for the Crusades were over, and the knight was forced to seek adventures nearer home.

Popular Science

So long as all books had to be copied by hand, there were, of course, but few of them compared with the great number in modern times. The literature of which we have been speaking was not in general read, but was listened to as it was sung or recited by those who made it their profession. Wherever the wandering jongleur appeared he was sure of a delighted audience for his songs and stories. Those unfamiliar with Latin could, however, learn little of the past; there were no translations of the great classics of Greece and Rome—of Homer, Plato, Cicero, or Livy. All that they could know of ancient history was derived from the fantastic romances referred to above, which had for their theme the quite preposterous deeds ascribed to Alexander the Great, Æneas, and Cæsar. As for their own history, the epics relating to the earlier course of events in France and the rest of Europe were hopelessly confused. The writers attributed a great part of the acts of the Frankish kings, from Clovis to Pippin, to Charlemagne. The first real history written in French is Villehardouin's account of the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders (in 1204), which he had witnessed.

What we should call scientific literature was practically wanting. It is true that there was a kind of encyclopedia in verse which gave a great deal of misinformation about things in general. Everyone believed in strange animals like the unicorn, the dragon, and the phœnix, and in still stranger habits of real animals. A single example will suffice to show what passed for zoölogy in the thirteenth century.

"There is a little beast made like a lizard and such is its nature that it will extinguish fire should it fall into it. The beast is so cold and of such a quality that fire is not able to burn it, nor will trouble happen in the place where it shall be." This beast signifies the holy man who lives by faith, who "will never have hurt from fire nor will hell burn him. . . . This beast

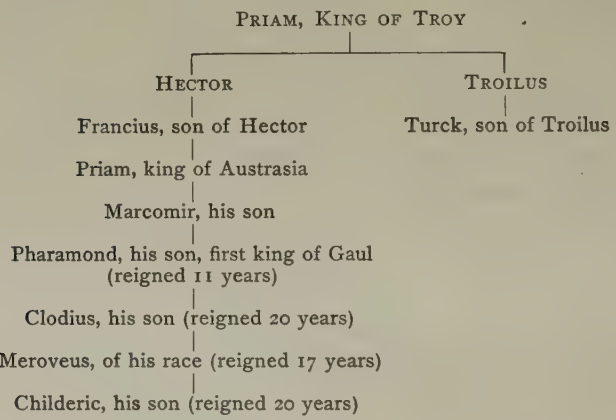
we name also by another name,—it is called salamander, as you find written,—it is accustomed to mount into apple-trees, poisons the apples, and in a well where it shall fall it will poison the water."

It will be noticed that the habits of the animals were supposed to have some spiritual meaning and carry with them a lesson for mankind. It may be added that this and similar stories were centuries old. The most improbable things were repeated from generation to generation without its occurring to anyone to inquire if there was any truth in them. Even the most learned men of the time believed in astrology and in the miraculous virtues of herbs and gems. For instance, Albertus Magnus, one of the most distinguished scientists of the thirteenth century, agrees that a sapphire will drive away boils, and that a diamond can be softened in the blood of a stag, which will work best if the stag has been fed on wine and parsley.[1]

Like the works on natural science, the histories of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries furnish a singular mixture of truth and occasional acute criticism along with the most palpable absurdities. Such a writer as Otto of Freising (see page 202) made use of some excellent authorities,—for example, Eusebius and the best of the medieval chronicles,—and one is astonished to find how correct and philosophic is his account of the history of the world. He knew as much about the past as writers of a hundred years ago. On the other hand, there are frequent passages like the following, taken from Rigord, the biographer of Philip Augustus:

[1] See Steele's *Mediæval Lore* for examples of the science of the Middle Ages. For the curious notions of the world and its inhabitants see the *Travels* attributed to Sir John Mandeville. The best edition is published by The Macmillan Company, 1900. The *Gesta Romanorum* ("Deeds of the Romans"), compiled about the year 1300, is a collection of fantastic tales, each with a rather strained moral, which does not, however, detract from the amusing incidents. The work enjoyed great and prolonged popularity; it is not hard to find even today, in an English translation, and gives an excellent and vivid impression of medieval scientific and historical ignorance. See *Readings*, chap. xix.

This city [Paris] was originally called Lutetia owing to the pestilential mud with which it was filled. The inhabitants, shocked by the name, which was always recalling the mud to them, preferred to call the city Paris, from Paris Alexander, son of Priam, king of Troy; for we read in the *Acts of the Franks* that the first king of the Franks who exercised the royal power was Pharamond, son of Marcomir, whose father was Priam, king of Austrasia. This Priam, king of Austrasia, was not, however, the great Priam, king of Troy, but he was a descendant of Hector, Priam's son, through Francius, as will be seen from the following table:


Priam, King of Troy
Hector
Troilus
Francius, son of Hector
Turck, son of Troilus
Priam, king of Austrasia
Marcomir, his son
Pharamond, his son, first king of Gaul (reigned 11 years)
Clodius, his son (reigned 20 years)
Meroveus, of his race (reigned 17 years)
Childeric, his son (reigned 20 years)

Now, since it is not rare to find those who doubt this origin of the Franks and the authorities which would prove that the kings of France may really be traced back to the Trojans, we have taken pains to collect all the information in the history of Gregory of Tours, in the chronicles of Eusebius and of Idacius, besides the writings of many others, in order to establish this genealogy correctly.

After the destruction of Troy a great number of the inhabitants of that city fled, and later separated into two peoples; one of these took for their king Francius, son of Hector, and consequently grandson of Priam the former king of the Trojans; the other followed the son of Troilus, the second son of Priam. He was called Turck; and it is in this way, it is said, that these two peoples received the names which they keep even to this day of Franks and Turks.

It is not only in the literature of the Middle Ages that we find the thought and life of the people reflected, but in the art as well; for painters, sculptors, and builders were at work in every country of western Europe.

The paintings were altogether different from those of today, and consisted chiefly of illustrations in the books, called *illuminations*. Just as the books had all to be laboriously written out by hand, so each picture was painted on the parchment page with tiny brushes, and usually in brilliant colors with a generous use of gold. And as the monks wrote out the books, so it was, in general, the monks who painted the pictures. The books that they adorned were chiefly those used in the Church services, especially the breviary, the psalter, and the book of hours. Naturally these pictures usually dealt with religious subjects and illustrated the lives of the saints or the events of Biblical history. Virtue was encouraged by representations of the joys of heaven and also stimulated by spirited portrayals of the devil and his fiends and of the sufferings of the lost.

Secular works, too, were sometimes provided with pictures drawn from a wide variety of subjects. We find in their pages such homely and familiar figures as the farmer with his plow, the butcher at his block, the glass-blower at his furnace; then, again, we are transported to an imaginary world, peopled with strange and uncouth beasts and adorned with fantastic architecture.

The medieval love of symbols and of fixed rules for doing things is strikingly illustrated in these illuminations. Each color had its especial significance. There were certain established attitudes and ways of depicting various characters and emotions which were adhered to by generation after generation of artists and left comparatively little opportunity for individual talent or lifelike presentation. On the other hand, these little pictures—for, of course, they were always small—were often executed with exquisite care and skill and sometimes, in the minor details, with great truth to nature.

Besides the pictures of which we have been speaking, it was a common practice to adorn the books with gay illuminated initials or page borders, which were sometimes very beautiful in both design and color. In these rather more freedom was allowed to the caprice of the individual artist, and they were frequently enlivened with very charming and lifelike flowers and with birds, squirrels, and other small animals.

The art of sculpture was widely and successfully cultivated during the Middle Ages. Medieval sculpture did not, however, concern itself *chiefly* with the representation of the human figure but with what we may call *decorative carving*; it was almost wholly subservient to the dominant art of the Middle Ages, namely, architecture.

Gothic Architecture

It is in the great cathedrals and other churches scattered throughout England, France, Spain, Holland, Belgium, and Germany that we find the noblest and most lasting achievements of medieval art, which all the resources of modern skill have been unable to equal. The construction of a cathedral sometimes extended over two or three hundred years, and much of the money for it must have been collected penny by penny. It must be remembered that all—except a few heretics—belonged to one great Catholic, or Universal, Church. As everybody belonged to the Church, so the church belonged to each individual. The building and beautifying of a new church was a matter of interest to the whole community—to men of every rank. It gratified at once their religious sentiments, their local pride, and their artistic cravings. All the arts and crafts ministered to the construction and adornment of the new edifice, and in addition to its religious significance it took the place of our modern art museum.

Up to the twelfth century, churches were built in what is called the *Romanesque*, or Roman-like, style, because they fol-

lowed somewhat the models set by the old Roman basilicas, where the law courts held their sessions. These Romanesque churches usually had stone ceilings, and it was necessary to make the walls very thick and solid to support the great weight. There was a main hall in the center, called the nave, and a

ROMANESQUE CHURCH OF CHÂTEL-MONTAGNE, IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ALLIER, FRANCE

This is a pure Romanesque building with no alterations in a later style, such as are common. Heavy as the walls are, they are reënforced by buttresses along the side. All the arches are round (none of them pointed, as in the Gothic style)

narrower aisle on either side, separated from the nave by massive stone pillars which helped to hold up the stone ceiling. These pillars were connected by round arches of stone above them. The tops of the windows were round, and the ceiling was constructed of round vaults, somewhat like a stone bridge; so that round arches are one of the striking features of the Romanesque style which distinguish it from the so-called Gothic style that supplanted it. The windows had to be small,

in order that the walls should not be weakened; consequently the Romanesque structures were rather dark inside.

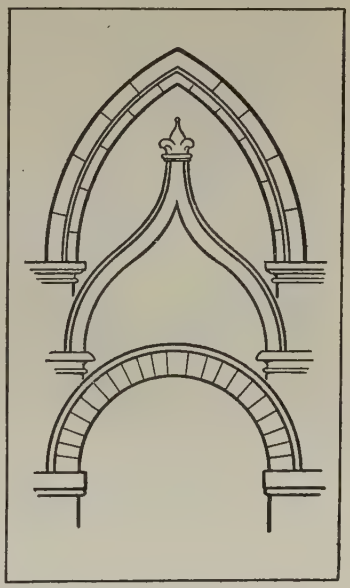
CROSS SECTION OF AMIENS CATHEDRAL

The architects of France were not satisfied, however, with this method of building, and in the twelfth century they transcended it in a most ingenious manner. By a great feat of engineering they devised a means of constructing spacious and lofty buildings in which they were able to do away with the heavy walls and put high, wide, graceful windows in their place. This new style of architecture is known as the *Gothic*,[1] and its underlying principles can readily be understood from a little study of the accompanying diagram, which shows how a Gothic cathedral is supported not by heavy walls but by *buttresses*.

The architects discovered in the first place that the concave stone ceiling, which is known as the *vaulting* (*A*), could be supported by *ribs* (*B*). These could, in turn, be brought together and supported upon pillars which rested on

[1] The inappropriate name "Gothic" was given to the beautiful churches of the North by Italian architects of the sixteenth century, who did not like them and who preferred to build in the style of the ancient Romans. The Italians, with their "classical" tastes, assumed that only German barbarians — whom they carelessly called Goths — could admire a Gothic cathedral.

the floor of the church. So far so good! But the builders knew well enough that the pillars and ribs would be pushed over by the weight and outward "thrust" of the stone vaulting if they were not firmly supported from the outside. Instead of erecting heavy walls to insure this support they had recourse to buttresses (*D*), which they built quite outside the walls of the church, and connected them by means of "flying" buttresses (*C*) with the points where the pillars and ribs had the most tendency to push outward. *In this way a vaulted stone ceiling could be supported without the use of a massive wall.* This ingenious use of buttresses instead of walls is the fundamental principle of Gothic architecture, and it was discovered for the first time by the architects in the medieval towns.

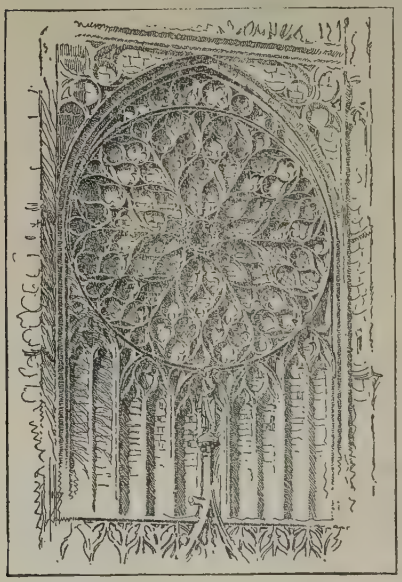


ROUND AND POINTED ARCHES

The wall, no longer essential for supporting the ceiling, was used only to inclose the building, and windows could be built as high and wide as pleased the architect. By the use of *pointed* instead of *round* arches it was possible to give added variety and beauty to Gothic structures. It enabled the builder to make arches of the same height but various widths, and of varying height and the same width. A round arch of a given span can be only half as high as it is wide, but the pointed arch may have a great diversity of proportions.

The light from all the great windows might have been too glaring had it not been for the wonderful stained glass, set in exquisite stone tracery, with which they were filled. The

stained glass of the medieval cathedral, especially in France, where the glassworkers brought their art to the greatest perfection, was one of its chief glories. By far the greater part of this old glass has, of course, been destroyed; but it is still so highly prized that every bit of it is now carefully preserved, for it has never since been equaled. A window set with odd bits of it pieced together like crazy patchwork is more beautiful, in its rich and jewel-like coloring, than most modern work.



WINDOW IN THE CATHEDRAL OF SENS, FRANCE

As the Gothic style developed and the builders grew all the time more skillful and daring, the churches became marvels of lightness and delicacy of detail and finish, while still retaining their dignity and beauty of proportion. Sculptors enriched them with the most varied creations of their art. Moldings and capitals, pulpits, altars, and choir screens, the wooden seats for the clergy and choristers, are sometimes literally covered with carving representing graceful leaf and flower forms, familiar animals or grotesque monsters, Biblical incidents or homely scenes from everyday life. In the cathedral of Wells, in England, one capital shows us among its vines and leaves a boy whose face is screwed up with pain from the thorn he is extracting from his foot; another depicts a whole story of thieves stealing grapes and pursued by an angry farmer with a pitchfork. One characteristic of the

medieval imagination is its fondness for the grotesque. It loved queer beasts half eagle and half lion, hideous batlike creatures, —monsters like nothing on land or sea. They lurk among the foliage on choir screens, leer at you from wall or column, or squat upon the gutters high on roof and steeple.

A striking peculiarity of the Gothic structure is the great number of statues of apostles, saints, and rulers which adorn the façades and especially the main portal of the churches. These figures are cut from the same kind of stone of which the building is made and appear to be almost a part of it. While, compared with later sculpture, they seem somewhat stiff and unlifelike, they harmonize wonderfully with the whole building, and the best of them are full of charm and dignity.

So far we have spoken only of church architecture, and that was by far the most significant during the period with which we have been dealing. Later, in the fourteenth century, many beautiful secular buildings were constructed in the Gothic style. The most striking and important of these were the guildhalls built by the rich merchant guilds, the townhalls of some of the leading cities, and the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. But the Gothic style has always been especially dedicated to, and seems peculiarly fitted for, ecclesiastical architecture. Its lofty aisles and open floor spaces, its soaring arches leading the eye toward heaven, and its glowing windows suggesting the glories of paradise may well have fostered the ardent faith of the medieval Christian.

We have already touched upon some of the characteristics of secular architecture in referring to the medieval castle. This was rather a stronghold than a home—strength and inaccessibility were its main requirements. The walls were many feet thick; and the tiny windows (often hardly more than slits in the massive walls), the stone floors, the great bare halls warmed only by large fireplaces, suggest nothing of the comfort of a modern household. They imply a simplicity of manners and a hardihood of body which we may sometimes envy.

The Medieval Universities

On turning from the language and books of the people and the art of the period to the occupations of the learned class, who carried on their studies and discussions in Latin, we naturally inquire where such persons obtained their education. During the long centuries which elapsed between the time when Justinian closed the government schools and the advent of Frederick Barbarossa, there appears to have been nothing in western Europe, outside of Italy and Spain, corresponding to our universities and colleges. Some of the schools which the bishops and abbots had established in accordance with Charlemagne's commands were, it is true, maintained all through the dark and disorderly times which followed his death; but the little that we know of the instruction offered in these schools would indicate that it was very elementary, although there were sometimes noted men at their head.

About the year 1100 an ardent young man named Abelard started out from his home in Brittany to visit all the places where he might hope to receive instruction in logic and philosophy, in which, like all his learned contemporaries, he was especially interested. He reports that he found teachers in several of the French towns, particularly in Paris, who were attracting large numbers of students to listen to their lectures upon logic, rhetoric, and theology. Abelard soon showed his superiority to his teachers by defeating them several times in debate. Before long he began lecturing on his own account, and such was his success that thousands of students flocked to hear him.

He prepared a remarkable little textbook, called *Yea and Nay*, containing seemingly contradictory opinions of the Church Fathers upon particular questions. The student was left to reconcile the contradictions, if he could, by careful reasoning; for Abelard held that a constant questioning was the only path to real knowledge. His free way of dealing with

the authorities upon which men based their religious beliefs seemed wicked to many of his contemporaries, especially to St. Bernard, who made him a great deal of trouble. Nevertheless it soon became the fashion to discuss the various doctrines of Christianity with great freedom and to try to make a well-reasoned system of theology by following the rules of Aristotle's logic. It was just after Abelard's death (1142) that Peter Lombard published his *Sentences*, already described (see page 233).

Abelard did not *found* the University of Paris, as has sometimes been supposed, but he did a great deal to make the discussions of theological problems popular, and by his attractive method of teaching he greatly increased the number of those who wished to learn. The sad story of his life, which he wrote when he was worn out with the calamities that had overtaken him, is the best and almost the only account which exists of the remarkable interest in learning which explains the origin of the University of Paris.[1]

Before the end of the twelfth century the teachers had become so numerous in Paris that they formed a union, or guild, for the advancement of their interests. This union of professors was called by the usual name for corporations in the Middle Ages, *universitas*; hence our word "university." The king and Pope both favored the university and granted the teachers and students many of the privileges of the clergy, a class to which they were regarded as belonging, because learning had for so many centuries been confined to the clergy.

About the time that we find the beginnings of a university, or guild of professors, at Paris, a great institution of learning was growing up at Bologna. Here the chief attention was given not to theology, as at Paris, but to the study of the law, both Roman and canon. Very early in the twelfth century a new interest in the Roman law became apparent in Italy, where the old jurisprudence of Rome had never been completely

[1] See *Readings*, chap. xix.

forgotten. Then, in 1142 or thereabouts, a monk, Gratian, published a great work (commonly called the *Decretum*) in which he aimed to reconcile all the conflicting legislation of the Church councils and popes, and to provide a convenient textbook for the study of the Church, or canon, law (see page 227). Students then began to stream to Bologna in greater numbers than ever before. To protect themselves in a town where they were regarded as strangers, they organized themselves into associations, which became so powerful that they were able to force the professors to obey the rules which they laid down.

The University of Oxford was founded in the time of Henry II, probably by English students and masters who had become discontented at Paris for some reason. The University of Cambridge, as well as numerous universities in France, Italy, and Spain, appeared in the thirteenth century. The German universities, which are still famous, were established somewhat later, most of them in the latter half of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth. The northern institutions generally took the great mother university on the Seine as their model, while those in southern Europe usually adopted the habits of Bologna.

When, after some years of study, a student was examined by the professors, he was, if successful, admitted to the corporation of teachers and became a master himself. What we call a degree today was originally, in the medieval universities, nothing more than the license to teach. But in the thirteenth century many who did not care to become professors in our sense of the word began to desire the honorable title of "Master" or "Doctor" (which is only the Latin word for "teacher").

The origin of the bachelor's degree, which comes at the end of our college course nowadays, may be explained as follows: The bachelor in the thirteenth century was a student who had passed part of his examinations in the course in "arts," as the college course was then called, and was permitted to teach certain elementary subjects before he became a full-fledged

master. So the A.B. was inferior to the A.M. then as now. After finishing his college course and obtaining his A.M., the young teacher often became a student in one of the professional schools of law, theology, or medicine, and in time became a master in one of these sciences. The words "master," "doctor," and "professor" meant very much the same thing in the thirteenth century.

The students in the medieval universities were of all ages, from thirteen to forty, and even older. There were no university buildings, and in Paris the lectures were given in the Latin Quarter, in Straw Street, so called from the straw strewn on the floors of the hired rooms where the lecturer explained the textbook, with the students squatting on the floor before him. There were no laboratories, for there was no experimentation. All that was required was a copy of the textbook,—Gratian's *Decretum*, the *Sentences*, a treatise of Aristotle, or a medical book. This the lecturer explained sentence by sentence, and the students listened and sometimes took notes.

The fact that the masters and students were not bound to any particular spot by buildings and apparatus left them free to wander about. If they believed themselves ill treated in one town, they moved to another, greatly to the disgust of the tradespeople of the place which they deserted, who of course profited by the presence of the university. The universities of Oxford and Leipzig, among others, were founded by professors and students who had deserted their former home.

The course in arts, which corresponded to our college course and led to the degree of Master of Arts, required six years at Paris. The subjects taught were logic, various sciences (physics, astronomy, etc., studied in translations of Aristotle's treatises), and some philosophy and ethics. There was no history and no Greek. Latin had to be learned in order to carry on the work at all, but little attention was given to the Roman classics. The new modern languages were considered entirely unworthy of the learned. It must of course be remembered

that none of the books which we consider the great classics in English, French, Italian, or Spanish had at this time been written.

Aristotle and Scholasticism

The most striking peculiarity of the instruction in the medieval university was the supreme deference paid to Aristotle. Most of the courses of lectures were devoted to the explanation of some one of his numerous treatises,—his *Physics*, his *Metaphysics*, his various treatises on logic, his *Ethics*, his minor works upon the soul, heaven and earth, etc. Only his *Logic* had been known to Abelard, as all his other works had been forgotten. But early in the thirteenth century all his comprehensive contributions to science reached the West, either from Constantinople or through the Arabs, who had brought them to Spain. The Latin translations were bad and obscure, and the lecturer had enough to do to give some meaning to them, to explain what the Arab philosophers had said of them, and, finally, to reconcile them to the teachings of Christianity.

Aristotle was, of course, a pagan. He was uncertain whether the soul continued to exist after death; he had never heard of the Hebrews' Bible and knew nothing of the salvation of man through Christ. One would have supposed that he would have been rejected with horror by those who never questioned the doctrines of Christianity. But the teachers of the thirteenth century were fascinated by his logic and astonished at his learning. The great Dominican theologians of the time, Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), did not hesitate to prepare elaborate commentaries upon all his works. He was called "The Philosopher"; and so fully were scholars convinced that it had pleased God to permit Aristotle to say the last word upon each and every branch of knowledge that they humbly accepted him, along with the Bible, the Church Fathers, and the canon and Roman law, as one of the

unquestioned authorities which together formed a complete guide for humanity in conduct and in every branch of science.

The term *scholasticism* is commonly given to the philosophy, theology, and method of discussion of the medieval professors. To those who later outgrew the fondness for logic and the supreme respect for Aristotle, scholasticism, with its neglect of Greek and Roman literature, came to seem an arid and profitless plan of education. Yet if we turn over the pages of the wonderful works of Thomas Aquinas, we see that the scholastic philosopher might be a person of extraordinary insight and erudition, ready to recognize all the objections to his position and able to express himself with great clearness and cogency. The training in logic, if it did not increase the sum of human knowledge, accustomed the student to make careful distinctions and present his material in an orderly way.

Even in the thirteenth century there were a few scholars who criticized the habit of relying upon Aristotle for all knowledge. The most distinguished faultfinder was Roger Bacon, an English Franciscan monk (d. about 1292), who declared that even if Aristotle were very wise, he had only planted the tree of knowledge, and that this had "not as yet put forth all its branches nor produced all its fruits." "If we could continue to live for endless centuries, we mortals could never hope to reach full and complete knowledge of all the things which are to be known. No one knows enough of nature completely to describe the peculiarities of a single fly and give the reason for its color and why it has just so many feet, no more and no less." Bacon held that truth could be reached a hundred thousand times better by experiments with real things than by poring over the bad Latin translations of Aristotle. "If I had my way," he declared, "I should burn all the books of Aristotle [by which he meant the current versions of the period], for the study of them can only lead to a loss of time, produce error and increase ignorance."

So we find that even when scholasticism was most popular in the universities, there were those who recommended the modern scientific method of discovering truth. This does not consist in discussing, according to the rules of logic, what a Greek philosopher said hundreds of years ago, but in the patient observation of things about us.

The Contrast between Early and Later Middle Ages

We have now traversed somewhat more than half the long period of fifteen hundred years which separates the Europe of today from the disintegrating Roman Empire of the fifth century. The eight hundred years which lie between the century of Alaric, Attila, Leo the Great, and Clovis and that of Innocent III, St. Louis, and Edward I witnessed momentous achievements which underlie our modern civilization.

It seemed, indeed, at first as if the barbarous Goths, Franks, Vandals, and Burgundians were bringing nothing but turmoil and distraction. Even the strong hand of Charlemagne curbed the unruly elements for only a moment; then the discord of his grandsons and the incursions of Northmen, Hungarians, Slavs, and Saracens plunged western Europe once more into the same anarchy and ignorance through which it had passed in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Two hundred years and more elapsed after Charlemagne's death before many signs of progress appeared. While we know little of the eleventh century, and while even its most distinguished writers are forgotten by all save the student of the period, it was undoubtedly a time of preparation for the brilliant twelfth century,—for Abelard and St. Bernard, and for the lawyers, poets, architects, and philosophers who seem to come suddenly upon the scene.

The Middle Ages may therefore be divided into two fairly distinct and quite different periods. The centuries prior to the age of Gregory VII and William the Conqueror may, on

account of their disorder and ignorance, be properly called the Dark Ages, although they beheld some important stages in the transformation of Europe. The later Middle Ages, on the contrary, were a time of rapid and unmistakable progress in almost every line of human endeavor. Indeed, by the end of the thirteenth century a number of those changes were well under way which serve to make modern Europe so different from the condition of western Europe under the Roman Empire. The most striking of these are the following:

1. A group of national states was gradually taking the place of the Roman Empire, which made no allowance in its government for the differences between Italians, Gauls, Germans, and Britons. The makeshift feudal government which had grown up during the Dark Ages was yielding to the kingly power (except in Germany and Italy), and there was no hope of ever reuniting western Europe into a single empire.

2. The Church had, in a way, taken the place of the Roman Empire by holding the various peoples of western Europe together under the headship of the Pope and by assuming the powers of government during the period when the feudal lords were too weak to secure order and justice. Organized like an absolute monarchy, the Church was in a certain sense by far the most powerful state of the Middle Ages. But it attained the zenith of its political influence under Innocent III, at the opening of the thirteenth century; before its close the national states had so grown in strength that it was clear that they would gradually reassume the powers of government temporarily exercised by the Church, and confine the Pope and clergy more and more to their strictly religious functions.

3. A new social class had come into prominence alongside the clergy and the knightly aristocracy. The emancipation of the serfs, the founding of towns, and the growth of commerce made it possible for merchants and successful artisans to rise to importance and influence through their wealth. From these beginnings the "public" of modern times has sprung.

4. The various modern languages began to be used in writing books. For five or six hundred years after the invasions of the Germans, Latin was used by all writers, but in the eleventh and following centuries the language of the people began to replace the ancient tongue. This enabled the laymen who had not mastered the intricacies of the old Roman speech to enjoy the stories and poems which were being composed in French, Provençal, German, English, and Spanish, and, somewhat later, in Italian.

Although the clergy still directed education, laymen were beginning to write books as well as to read them, and gradually the churchmen ceased to enjoy the monopoly of learning which they had possessed during the early Middle Ages.

5. Scholars began as early as the year 1100 to gather eagerly about masters who lectured upon the Roman and canon law or upon logic, philosophy, theology, and medicine. The works of Aristotle, as the most learned of the ancients, were sought out, and students followed him enthusiastically into all fields of knowledge. The universities grew up which are now so conspicuous a feature of our modern civilization.

6. The developing appreciation of the beautiful is attested by the skill and taste expressed in the magnificent churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which were not a revival of any ancient style but the original production of the architects and sculptors of the period.

7. Lastly, in the suggestions of Roger Bacon and of various other less-known experimenters we find a prophecy of those astonishing scientific discoveries and their application which have served to revolutionize the circumstances of human life in our own times. The inventions and practical devices introduced in the thirteenth century were but humble beginnings and gave little promise of producing the overwhelming effects which we can see clearly enough now. We have rumors, for instance, here and there, of the magnetic needle, which was to become the compass, and guide our vessels today across trackless oceans.

Paper began to become somewhat common in the thirteenth century. It was introduced through the Mohammedans, who seem to have derived the idea from the Chinese. Without paper the printing press, with its incalculable benefits to individuals and nations, could hardly have come into use. Another innovation, coming through the Mohammedans of Spain from India, was the use of our familiar "Arabic" numerals—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,—and the precious "zehirum," or zero, which make it possible to write all sums easily and engage in calculations which were wholly out of the question when one had to operate with the Roman system of letters; for how is one to multiply CCCXLVIII by CLV? Suppose that today all paper and numbers should disappear. How many busy lives at desks would have to flow into new channels!

In the thirteenth century the discovery was made that bits of glass could be so shaped as to magnify the images of objects. Spectacles are mentioned before the end of the century, but the telescope, the microscope, the spectroscope, the camera, and all such mighty assistants to the feeble human eye were still far in the future.

The men of the Middle Ages had simple, savage, unsophisticated means of killing one another,—spears, swords, javelins, bows and arrows, and clubs. They had devices of ancient origin for hurling stones and bolts. Of gunpowder there is but a hint or so from the thirteenth century; but there is good evidence that little brass cannon were being made in Florence in 1326, and by 1350 powder works were in operation in at least three German towns. Only slowly did this discovery of a more effective means of slaughter and destruction prevail. Not until about 1500 did it become apparent that the old stone castles would before long prove inadequate. Today the deadly explosives and projectiles used fifty years ago appear almost as primitive as the military resources of the early Middle Ages. And now lethal gases seem on the way to supplant artillery!

CHAPTER XIV

THE ITALIAN CITIES AND THE RENAISSANCE

The Culture of the Italian Cities and their Princes

While England and France were settling their differences in the wretched period of the Hundred Years' War, and the little German principalities, left without a leader,[1] were busied with their petty concerns, Italy was the center of European culture. Its cities—Florence, Venice, Milan, and the rest—reached a degree of prosperity and refinement undreamed of beyond the Alps. Within their walls learning and art made such extraordinary progress that this period has received a special name—the *Renaissance*,[2] or "new birth." The Italian towns, like those of ancient Greece, were really little states, each with its own peculiar life and institutions. Of these city-states a word must be said before considering the new enthusiasm for the works of the Romans and Greeks and the increasing skill which the Italian artists displayed in painting, sculpture, and architecture.

The map of Italy at the beginning of the fourteenth century was still divided into three zones, as it had been in the time of the Hohenstaufens. To the south lay the kingdom of Naples. Then came the states of the Church, extending diagonally across the peninsula. To the north and west lay the group of city-states to which we now turn our attention (see map, p. 204).

[1] See page 212.

[2] This word, although originally French, has come into such common use that it is quite permissible to pronounce it as if it were English—*rē nā'sans*.

Of these none was more celebrated than Venice, which in the history of Europe ranks in importance with Paris and London. This singular town was built upon a group of sandy islets lying in the Adriatic Sea about two miles from the mainland. It was protected from the waves by a long, narrow sand bar, similar to those which fringe the Atlantic coast from New Jersey southward. The location proved to have its advantages commercially, and even before the Crusades Venice had begun to engage in foreign trade. Its enterprises carried it eastward, and it early acquired possessions across the Adriatic and in the Orient.[1] The influence of this intercourse with the East is plainly shown in the celebrated church of St. Mark, whose domes and decorations suggest Constantinople rather than Italy.

It was not until early in the fifteenth century that Venice found it to her interest to extend her sway upon the Italian mainland. She doubtless believed it dangerous to permit her rival, Milan, to get possession of the Alpine passes through which Venetian goods found their way north. It may be, too, that she preferred to draw her food supplies from the neighborhood instead of transporting them across the Adriatic from her Eastern possessions. Moreover, all the Italian cities except Venice already controlled a larger or smaller area of country about them. Although Venice was called a republic, there was a strong tendency toward a government of the few. About the year 1300 all the townsmen except the members of certain noble families were excluded from the Grand Council, which was supposed to represent the people at large.

In 1311 the famous Council of Ten was created, whose members were elected by the Grand Council for one year. The whole government, domestic and foreign, was placed in the hands of this smaller council, in conjunction with the doge (that is, duke), the nominal head of the republic; but they were both held strictly accountable to the Grand Council for

[1] See pages 224–225.

all that they did. The government was thus concentrated in the hands of a very few. Its proceedings were carried on with great secrecy, so that public discussion, such as prevailed in Florence and led to innumerable revolutions there, was unheard of in Venice. The Venetian merchant was a busy person who was quite willing that the State should exercise its functions without his interference. In spite of the aristocratic measures of the council, there was little tendency to rebellion, so common in the other Italian towns. The republic of Venice maintained pretty much the same form of government from 1300 until its destruction by Napoleon in 1797.

Milan was the most conspicuous example of the large class of Italian cities which were governed by an absolute and despotic ruler, who secured control of a town either by force or guile and then managed its affairs for his own personal advantage. At the opening of the fourteenth century a great part of the towns which had leagued themselves against Frederick Barbarossa[1] had become little despotisms. Their rulers were constantly fighting among themselves, conquering their neighbors or being conquered by them. The practices of the Visconti, the family who seized the government of Milan, offer a fair example of the policy of the Italian tyrants.

The power of the Visconti was first established by the archbishop of Milan. In 1277 he imprisoned in three iron cages the leading members of the family who were in control of the city government at the moment, and had his nephew, Matteo Visconti, appointed by the Emperor as the imperial representative. Before long Matteo was generally recognized as the ruler of Milan, and was followed by his son. For over a century and a half some one of the family always showed himself skillful enough to hold his precarious position.

The most distinguished of the Visconti despots was Gian Galeazzo. He began his reign by capturing and poisoning his uncle, who was ruling over a portion of the already extensive

[1] See pages 202 ff.

territory of the Visconti.[1] It seemed for a time that he might conquer all northern Italy, but his progress was checked by the republic of Florence and then cut short by premature death. Gian Galeazzo exhibited all the characteristic traits of the Italian despots. He showed himself a skillful and successful ruler, able to organize his government admirably. He gathered literary men about him; and the beautiful buildings which were begun by him indicate his enthusiasm for art. Yet he was utterly unprincipled, and resorted to the most hideous methods in order to gain possession of coveted towns which he could not conquer or buy outright.

There are many stories of the incredible ferocity exhibited by the Italian despots.[2] It must be remembered that they were very rarely legitimate rulers, but usurpers, who could hope to retain their power only so long as they could keep their subjects in check and defend themselves against equally illegitimate usurpers in the neighboring cities. This situation developed a high degree of sagacity, and many of the despots found it to their interest to govern well and even to give dignity to their rule by patronizing artists and men of letters. But the despot usually made many bitter enemies and was almost necessarily suspicious of treason on the part of those about him. He was ever conscious that at any moment he might fall a victim to the dagger or the poison cup.

The Italian towns carried on their wars among themselves largely by means of hired troops. When a military expedition was proposed, a bargain was made with one of the leaders (*condottieri*), who provided the necessary force. As these sol-

[1] In the year 1300 Milan occupied a territory scarcely larger than that of the neighboring states; but under the Visconti it conquered a number of towns—Pavia, Cremona, etc.—and became, next to Venice, the most considerable state of northern Italy.

[2] A single example will suffice. Through intrigue and misrepresentation on the part of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the marquis of Ferrara became so wildly jealous of his nephew that he beheaded the young man and his mother, then burned his own wife and hanged a fourth member of the family.

diers had no more interest in the conflict than did those whom they opposed, who were likewise hired for the occasion, the fight was not usually very bloody; for the object of each side was to capture the other without unnecessarily rough treatment.

It sometimes happened that the leader who had conquered a town for his employer appropriated the fruits of the victory for himself. This occurred in the case of Milan in 1450. The Visconti family having died out, the citizens hired a certain captain, named Francesco Sforza, to assist them in a war against Venice, whose possessions now extended almost to those of Milan. When Sforza had repelled the Venetians, the Milanese found it impossible to get rid of him, and he and his successors became rulers over the town.

An excellent notion of the position and policy of the Italian despots may be derived from a little treatise called *The Prince*, written by the distinguished Florentine historian Machiavelli. The writer appears to have intended his book as a practical manual for the despots of his time—but, perhaps, too, as a very realistic analysis of what is involved in successful dominion over one's fellow men. It is a discussion of the ways in which a usurper may best retain his control over a town after he has once got possession of it. The author even takes up the questions as to how far princes should consider their promises when it is inconvenient to keep them, and how many of the inhabitants the despot may wisely kill. Machiavelli concludes that the Italian princes who have not observed their engagements overscrupulously and who have boldly put their political adversaries out of the way have fared better than their more conscientious rivals.

The history of Florence, perhaps the most important of the Italian cities, differs in many ways from that of Venice and of the despotisms of which Milan is an example. In Florence all classes claimed the right to interest themselves in the government. This led to constant changes in the constitution and to frequent struggles between the different political parties. When

one party got the upper hand, it generally expelled its chief opponents from the city. Exile was a terrible punishment to a Florentine, for Florence was not merely his native city—it was his *country*, and loved and honored as such.

By the middle of the fifteenth century Florence had come under the control of the great family of the Medici, whose members played the rôle of very enlightened political bosses. By quietly watching the elections and secretly controlling the selection of city officials, they governed without letting it be suspected that the people had lost their power. The most distinguished member of the House of Medici was Lorenzo the Magnificent (d. 1492); under his rule Florence reached the height of its glory in art and literature.

As one wanders about Florence today he is impressed with the contradictions of the Renaissance period. The streets are lined with the palaces of the noble families to whose rivalries much of the continual disturbance was due. The lower stories of these buildings are constructed of great stones, like fortresses, and their windows are barred like those of a prison; yet within they were often furnished with the greatest taste and luxury. For in spite of the disorder, against which the rich protected themselves by making their houses half strongholds, the beautiful churches, noble public buildings, and works of art which now fill the museums indicate that mankind has never, perhaps, reached a higher degree of perfection in the arts of peace than amidst the turmoil of this restless town.

As Symonds, in his well-known work *The Age of Despots*, says:

> Florence was essentially the city of intelligence in modern times. Other nations have surpassed the Italians in their genius. . . . But nowhere else except at Athens has the whole population of a city been so permeated with ideas, so highly intellectual by nature, so keen in perception, so witty and so subtle, as at Florence. The fine and delicate spirit of the Italians existed in quintessence among the Florentines. And of this superiority not only they, but the inhabit-

ants also of Rome and Lombardy and Naples were conscious. . . . The primacy of the Florentines in literature, the fine arts, law, scholarship, philosophy, and science was acknowledged throughout Italy.

The New Interest in Learning: Dante and Petrarch

The thirteenth century had been, as we have seen, a period of great enthusiasm for learning. The new universities attracted students from all parts of Europe, and famous thinkers such as Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Roger Bacon wrote great treatises on religion, science, and philosophy. The public delighted in the songs and romances composed and recited in the language of the people. The builders contrived a new and beautiful style of architecture and, with the aid of the sculptors, produced buildings which have never since been surpassed and have rarely been equaled. Why, then, are the two succeeding centuries called the period of the *new birth*, or Renaissance, as if there had been a sudden reawakening after a long sleep—as if Europe had first begun in the fourteenth century to turn to books and art?

The word "Renaissance" was originally used by writers who had very little appreciation of the achievements of the thirteenth century. They imagined that there could have been no high degree of culture during a period when the Latin and Greek classics, which seemed all-important to them, were not carefully studied. But it is now coming to be generally recognized that the thirteenth century had worthy intellectual and artistic ambitions, although they were different both from those of Greece and Rome and from our own.

We cannot, therefore, conceive the "new birth" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries quite as it was viewed by writers of a century ago, who failed to do justice to the preceding period. Nevertheless, about the middle of the fourteenth century a fundamental change did begin in thought and taste, in books, buildings, and pictures, and this change we may very

well continue to call the Renaissance. We can best judge of its nature by considering the work of the two greatest men of the fourteenth century, Dante and Petrarch.

Dante was first and foremost a poet and is often ranked with Homer, Virgil, and Shakespeare. He is, however, interesting to the historian for other things than his flights of fancy and the music of his verse. He had mastered all the learning of his day; he was a scientist and a scholar as well as a poet. His writings show us how the world appeared about the year 1300 to a very acute mind, and what was the range of knowledge available to the most thoughtful men of that day.

Dante was not a churchman, as were all the scholars whom we have hitherto considered. He was the first literary layman of renown since Boethius,[1] and he was interested in helping other laymen who knew only their mother tongue to the knowledge heretofore open only to those who could read Latin. In spite of his ability to write Latin, he chose the mother tongue for his great poem *The Divine Comedy*. Italian was the last of the important modern languages to develop, perhaps because in Italy Latin remained longest intelligible to the mass of the people. But Dante believed that the exclusive use of Latin for literary purposes had already in his time become an affectation. He was confident that many people, women as well as men, who knew only Italian would gladly read not only his verses but his treatise on science—*The Banquet*,[2] as he poetically calls it.

Dante's writings indicate that medieval scholars were by no means so ignorant of the universe as they are popularly supposed to have been. Although they believed, like the ancients, that the earth was the center around which the sun and stars revolved, they were familiar with some important

[1] See pages 31 and 54.

[2] *The Banquet* is to be had in English. The best edition is the annotated translation by Philip Wicksteed, published in the Temple Classics, under the title *The Convivio of Dante Alighieri.*

astronomical phenomena. They knew that the earth was a sphere and guessed very nearly its real size. They knew that everything that had weight was attracted toward its center, and that there would be no danger of falling off should one get on the opposite side of the globe; they realized also that when it was day on one side of the earth, it was night on the other.

While Dante shows a keen interest in the theological studies so popular in his time and still speaks of Aristotle as "the Philosopher," he exhibits a profound admiration for the other great authors of Rome and Greece. When in a vision he visits the lower world, Virgil is his guide. He is permitted to behold the region inhabited by the spirits of virtuous pagans, and there he finds Horace and Ovid, and Homer, the sovereign poet. As he reclines upon the green turf he sees a goodly company of ancient worthies—Socrates, Plato, and other Greek philosophers, Cæsar, Cicero, Livy, Seneca, and many others. He is so overcome by the honor of sitting among such great men that he finds no words to report what passed between them. He feels no horror for their paganism; and while he believes that they are not admitted to the beatific joys of heaven, he assigns them a comfortable abode where they hold dignified converse, with "faces neither sad nor glad."[1]

The veneration for the ancient writers felt by Dante becomes a burning enthusiasm with Petrarch, who has been well called "the first modern man." He was the first scholar and man of letters to desert the medieval learning and lead his contemporaries back to a realization of the beauty and value of Greek and Roman literature. In the medieval universities logic, theology, and the interpretation of Aristotle were the chief subjects of study. While scholars in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries possessed and read most of the Latin writers who have come down to us, they failed to appreciate their beauty and would never have dreamed of making them the basis of a liberal education.

[1] See the close of the fourth canto of the *Inferno*.

Petrarch declares that when a boy he delighted in the sonorous language of Cicero even before he could understand its meaning. As the years went on he became convinced that he could have no higher aim in life than that of collecting copies of all the Latin classics upon which he could lay hands. He was not only an indefatigable scholar himself, but he possessed the power of stimulating, by his example, the intellectual ambition of those with whom he came in contact. He rendered the study of the Latin classics popular among cultivated persons and, by his own untiring efforts to discover the lost or forgotten works of the great writers of antiquity, he roused a new enthusiasm for the formation of libraries.

Copies of the Æneid, of Horace's *Satires*, of certain of Cicero's *Orations*, of Ovid, Seneca, and a few other authors, were apparently by no means uncommon during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. To Petrarch, however, who had learned through the references of Cicero, St. Augustine, and others something of the original extent of Latin literature, it seemed that treasures of inestimable value had been lost by the shameful indifference of the Middle Ages. "Each famous author of antiquity whom I recall," he indignantly exclaims, "places a new offense and another cause of dishonor to the charge of later generations, who, not satisfied with their own disgraceful barrenness, permitted the fruit of other minds, and the writings that their ancestors had produced by toil and application, to perish through shameful neglect. Although they had nothing of their own to hand down to those who were to come after, they robbed posterity of its ancestral heritage."

It is hard for us to imagine the obstacles which confronted Petrarch and the scholars of the early Renaissance. They possessed no good editions of the Roman and Greek authors, in which the correct wording had been determined by a careful comparison of all the known ancient copies. They considered themselves fortunate to secure a single manuscript of even the best-known authors, and they could have no assurance that it

was not full of mistakes. Indeed, the texts were so corrupted by the carelessness of the copyists that Petrarch declares that if Cicero or Livy should return and stumblingly read his own writings, he would promptly pronounce them the work of another, perhaps a barbarian.

Petrarch enjoyed an unrivaled influence throughout western Europe, akin to that of Erasmus and Voltaire in later times. He was in constant communication with scholars, not only in Italy but in the countries beyond the Alps. From the numerous letters of Petrarch which have been preserved a great deal may be learned of the intellectual life of the time.[1]

It is clear that Petrarch not only promoted the new study of the Roman writers, but that he also did much to discredit the learning which was popular in the universities. He refused to include in his library the works of the great scholastic writers of the thirteenth century. Like Roger Bacon he was disgusted by the reverence in which the bad translations of Aristotle were held. As for the popular study of logic, Petrarch declared that it was good enough for boys, but that nothing irritated him more than to find a person of mature years devoting himself to the subject.

While Petrarch is far better known for his beautiful Italian verses than for his long Latin poems, histories, and essays, he did not share Dante's confidence in the dignity of their mother tongue. He even depreciates his Italian sonnets as mere popular trifles written in his youth. It was not unnatural that he and those in whom he aroused an enthusiasm for Latin literature should look scornfully upon Italian. It seemed to them a crude form of speech, good enough perhaps for the common people and for the transaction of the daily business of life, but immeasurably inferior to the language in which their prede-

[1] Petrarch's own remarkable account of his life and studies, which he gives in his famous "Letter to Posterity," may be found in Robinson and Rolfe's *Petrarch* (second edition), pp. 59–76. See also the account of his "Confessions," ibid. pp. 413 ff.

cessors, the Roman poets and prose writers, had written. The Italians, it must be remembered, felt the same patriotic pride in Latin literature that we feel in the works of Chaucer and Shakespeare. The Italian scholars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries merely turned back to their own earlier national literature for their models, and tried their best to imitate the language and style of its masters.

The Humanists catch up with the Past

Those who devoted themselves to the study and imitation first of Roman and later of Greek literature are commonly called *humanists*, a name derived from the Latin word *humanitas*; that is, culture, especially in the sense of literary appreciation. They no longer paid much attention to Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. They had, indeed, little taste for theology,—at least of the scholastic type,—but looked to Cicero for all those accomplishments which go to the making of a man of refinement.

The *humanities*, as Greek and Latin are still called, became almost a new religion among the Italian scholars during the century following Petrarch's death. In order to understand their exclusive attention to ancient literature we must remember that they did not have a great many of the books that we prize most highly nowadays. Now, every nation of Europe has an extensive literature in its own particular tongue, which everyone can read. Besides admirable translations of all the works of antiquity, there are innumerable masterpieces, like those of Shakespeare, Voltaire, and Goethe, which were unheard of four centuries ago. Consequently we can now acquaint ourselves with a great part of the best that has been written in all ages without knowing either Latin or Greek. The Middle Ages enjoyed no such advantage. So when men began to tire of theology, logic, and Aristotle's scientific treatises, they naturally turned back with single-hearted en-

thusiasm to the age of Augustus and, later, to that of Pericles for their models of literary style and for their ideals of life and conduct.

A sympathetic study of the pagan authors led many of the humanists to reject the medieval view of the relation of this life to the next. They reverted to the teachings of Horace and they ridiculed the self-sacrifice of the monk. They felt that it was right to make the most of life's pleasures and needless to worry about the world to come. In some cases the humanists openly attacked the teachings of the Church; but generally they remained outwardly loyal to it, and many of them even found positions among the officers of the papal curia.

Humanism produced a revolution in the idea of a liberal education. In the sixteenth century, through the influence of those who visited Italy, the schools of Germany, England, and France began to make Latin and Greek literature, rather than logic and other medieval subjects, the basis of their college course. It was in this way that our "classical" courses in college originated. It is only within the last generation that Latin and Greek have begun to be replaced in our colleges by a variety of scientific and historical studies; and many would still maintain, with the humanists of the fifteenth century, that Latin and Greek are better worth studying than any other subjects.

The humanists of the fourteenth century ordinarily knew no Greek. Some knowledge of that language lingered in the West all through the Middle Ages; but we hear of no one attempting to read Euripides, Plato, Demosthenes, or even Homer, and these authors were scarcely ever found in the libraries. Petrarch and his followers were naturally much interested in the constant references to Greek literature which occur in Cicero and Horace, both of whom freely recognized their debt to Athens. Shortly after Petrarch's death the city of Florence called to its university a professor of Greek, Chrysoloras, from Constantinople.

A young Florentine law student, Leonardo Bruni, tells us of a dialogue which he had with himself when he heard of the coming of Chrysoloras.

Art thou not neglecting thy best interests if thou failest now to get an insight into Homer, Plato, Demosthenes, and the other great poets, philosophers, and orators of whom they are telling such wonderful things? Thou, too, mightest commune with them and imbue thyself with their wisdom. Wouldst thou let the golden opportunity slip? For seven hundred years no one in Italy has known Greek literature, and yet we agree that all language comes from the Greeks. How greatly would familiarity with that language advantage thee in promoting thy knowledge and in the mere increase of thy pleasure? There are teachers of Roman law to be found everywhere, and thou wilt never want an opportunity to continue that study; but there is but one teacher of Greek, and if he escapes thee there will be no one from whom thou canst learn.

Many students took advantage of the opportunity to study Greek, and Chrysoloras prepared the first modern Greek grammar for their use. Before long the ancient Greek books became almost as well known as the Latin. Italians even went to Constantinople to learn the language; and the diplomatic negotiations which the Eastern Church carried on with the Western, with the hope of gaining help against the Turks, brought some Greek scholars to Italy. In 1423 an Italian scholar arrived at Venice with no less than two hundred and thirty-eight Greek books, thus transplanting a whole literature to a new and fruitful soil.[1] Greek as well as Latin books were carefully copied and edited, and beautiful libraries[2] were established by the Medici, the duke of Urbino, and Pope Nicholas V, who founded

[1] Historians formerly supposed that it was only after Constantinople was captured by the Turks, in 1453, that Greek scholars fled west and took with them the knowledge of their language and literature. The facts given above serve as a sufficient refutation of this oft-repeated error.

[2] In Whitcomb's *Source Book of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 70 ff., interesting accounts of these libraries may be found, written by Vespasiano, the most important book dealer of the time.

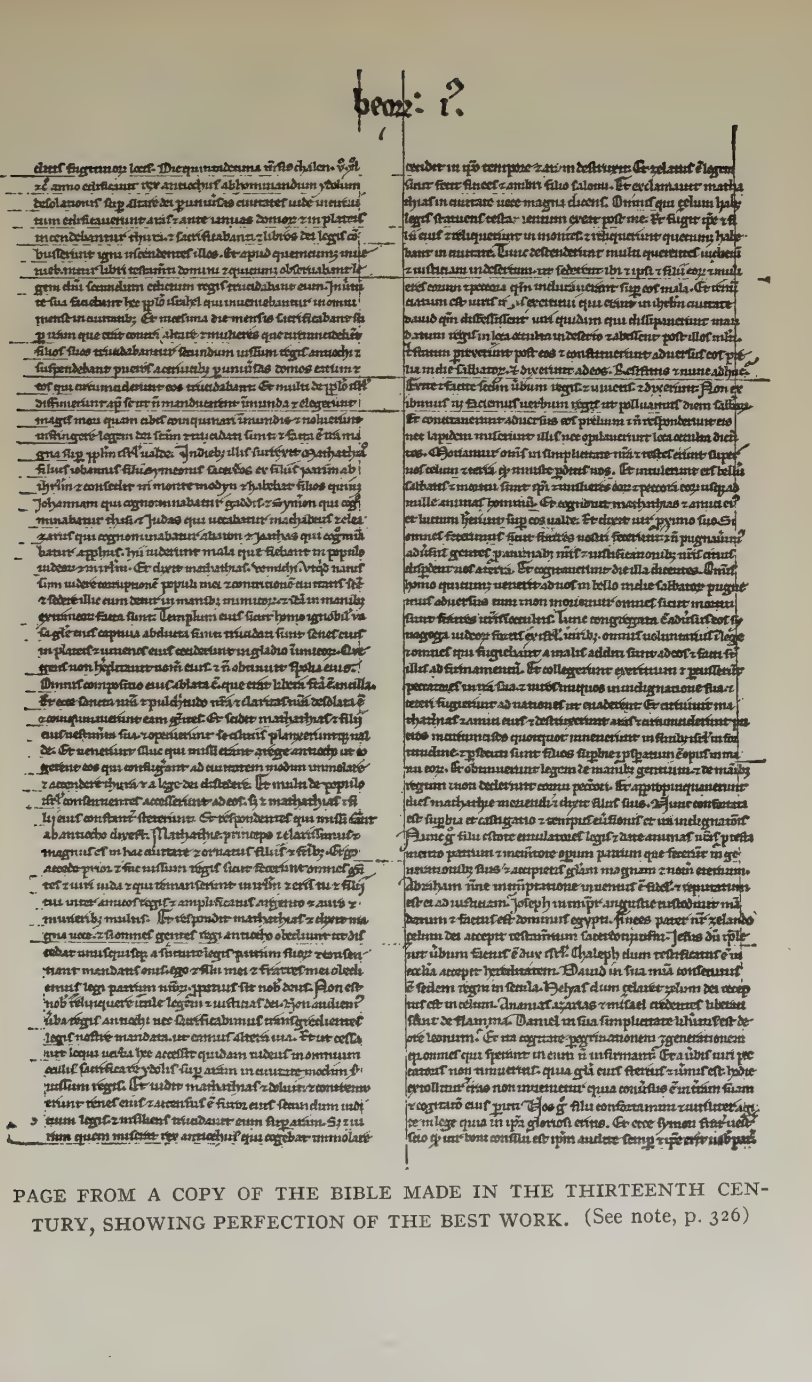
the great library of the Vatican, still one of the most important collections of books in the world.

In these libraries the books were by no means confined to what we regard as the "classics." They included later pagan and many *Christian* writings which happened to be in Greek. The humanists had a feeble historical sense and did not carefully distinguish between books of the time of Pericles and those written centuries later, in the days of Constantine or of Theodosius the Great. They were many of them partial to Plato's teachings as they found them not in Plato's works themselves but in the teachings of the Neoplatonists (especially of Plotinus (d. about A.D. 270) and his followers), who, under the later Roman Empire, had developed ideas quite remote from those of Plato himself. The humanists consequently enjoyed but little insight into Greek life and thought, as modern scholars understand it. Their studies produced a far slighter change in their general attitude than might have been imagined. They made only a beginning in that literary criticism which has in the past two centuries striven to establish the dates of authorship of literary works, as well as the atmosphere of thought and prejudice in which their authors lived. Such study has resulted in quite new notions of the Bible, Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and the rest.

The Invention of Printing, and its Important Results

It was the glory of the Italian humanists to begin the revival of the knowledge and appreciation of the ancient literatures, but it remained for patient experimenters in Germany and Holland to perfect a system by which books could be multiplied rapidly and cheaply. The laborious copying of books by hand[1] had several serious disadvantages. The best copyists were, it is true, incredibly dexterous with their quills, and made their

[1] "Manuscript" (Latin *manu scriptum*) means simply "written by hand," as distinguished from a printed book.



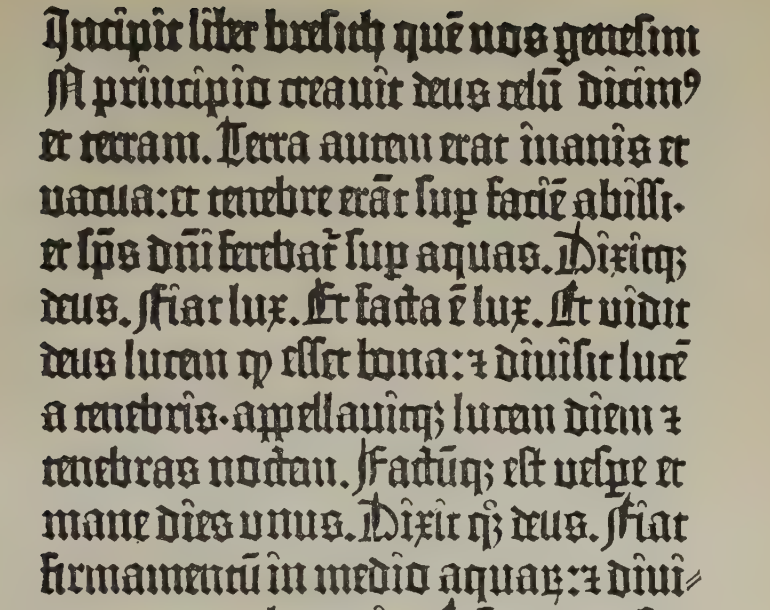
PAGE FROM A COPY OF THE BIBLE MADE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, SHOWING PERFECTION OF THE BEST WORK. (See note, p. 326)

letters as clear and small as if they had been printed.[1] But the work was necessarily very slow. When Cosimo de' Medici, the grandfather of Lorenzo the Magnificent, wished to form a library, he applied to a book contractor, who procured forty-five copyists. By working hard for nearly two years these men were able to produce only two hundred volumes.

Moreover, it was impossible before the invention of printing to have two books exactly alike. Even with the greatest care a scribe could not hope to avoid all mistakes, and a careless copyist was sure to make a great many. The universities required their students to report immediately any mistakes discovered in their textbooks, in order that the error might be promptly rectified and not lead to a misunderstanding of the author. With the invention of printing it became possible to produce in a short time a great many copies of a given book which were exactly alike. Consequently, if great care were taken to see that the types were properly set, the whole edition, not simply a single copy, might be relied upon as correct.

The earliest book of any considerable size to be printed was the Bible, which appears to have been completed at Mainz, in the year 1456. A year later the famous Mainz Psalter was finished, the first dated book. There are, however, earlier examples of little books printed with engraved blocks and even with movable types. In the German towns, where the art spread rapidly, the printers adhered to the style of letters which

[1] On the previous page is a reproduction, exactly the size of the original, of a page from a manuscript Bible of the thirteenth century (in Latin) in the library of Columbia University. It was chosen to illustrate the minuteness and perfection of the best work. The page is taken from 1 Maccabees i, 56 to ii, 65 (a portion of the Scriptures not usually included in the Protestant Bibles). It begins, " . . . ditis fugitivorum locis. Die quintadecima mensis Caslev, quinto et quadragesimo et centesimo anno aedificavit rex Antiochus abominandum idolum desolationis super altare Dei; et per universas civitates Juda in circitu aedificaverunt aras et ante januas domorum, et in plateis incendebant thura, et sacrificabant et libros legis Dei com[busserunt]." The scribes used a good many abbreviations, as was the custom of the time, and what is transcribed here fills five lines of the manuscript.

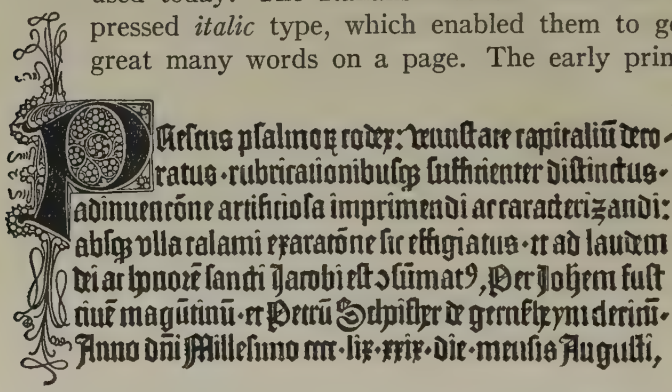


Incipit liber bresith quē nos genesim
A principio creauit deus celū dicim⁹
et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et
vacua: et tenebre erāt sup faciē abissi·
et sp̄s dn̄i ferebat̄ sup aquas. Dixitq;
deus. Fiat lux. Et facta ē lux. Et vidit
deus lucem q̄ esset bona: ⁊ diuisit lucē
a tenebris· appellauitq; lucem diem ⁊
tenebras noctem. Factūq; est vespe et
mane dies vnus. Dixit q̄; deus. Fiat
firmamentū in medio aquar̄: ⁊ diui-
dat aquas ab aquis. Et fecit deus fir-
mamentū: diuisitq; aquas que erāt
sub firmamento ab hijs q̄ erant sup
firmamentū· et factū ē ita. Vocauitq;
deus firmamentū celū: ⁊ factū ē vespe
et mane dies secūd⁹. Dixit vero deus.
Congregent̄ aque que sub celo sūt in
locū vnū ⁊ appareat arida. Et factū ē
ita. Et vocauit deus aridam terram:

PORTION OF A PAGE OF THE FIRST BIBLE PRINTED BY GUTENBERG

This is reproduced in the exact size of the original, which has two columns on a page. The passage here given is at the opening of Genesis

the scribe had found it convenient to make with his quill—the so-called *Gothic*, or black letter.[1] In Italy, where the first printing-press was set up in 1466, a type was soon adopted which resembled the letters used in ancient Roman inscriptions. This was very similar to the style of letter commonly used today. The Italians invented also the compressed *italic* type, which enabled them to get a great many words on a page. The early printers


Praesens psalmorum codex: venustate capitalium decoratus · rubricationibusque sufficienter distinctus · adinuencione artificiosa imprimendi ac caracterizandi: absque vlla calami exaratione sic effigiatus · et ad laudem dei ac honorem sancti Jacobi est consummatus, Per Johem fust ciuem magutinum · et Petrum Schoifher de gernsheym clericum · Anno domini Millesimo cccc · lix · xxix · die · mensis Augusti,

CLOSING LINES OF THE PSALTER OF 1459. (MUCH REDUCED)[2]

generally did their work conscientiously, and the very first book printed is in most respects as well done as any later book.

It appears that by the year 1500—after printing with movable types had been in use for less than fifty years—there were at least forty printing-presses to be found in various towns of

[1] Observe the similarity of the printed letters in Gutenberg's Bible to those in the manuscript page of the thirteenth-century Bible. So careful were the printers to follow the habits of the scribes that it is not easy to distinguish at first glance a very early printed book from a manuscript book. The Germans still often employ a style of type something like that used by the first German printers.

[2] The closing lines (that is, the so-called *colophon*) of the second edition of the Psalter, which are here reproduced, are substantially the same as those of the first edition. They may be translated as follows: "The present volume of the Psalms, which is adorned with handsome capitals and is clearly divided by means of rubrics, was produced not by writing with a pen but by an ingenious invention of printed characters; and was completed to the glory of God and the honor of St. James by John Fust, a citizen of Mainz, and Peter Schoifher of Gernsheim, in the year of our Lord 1459, on the 29th of August."

Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and England. These presses had together produced eight million volumes; so it is not very hard to procure examples of books printed before 1500, the so-called *incunabula* ("cradle books"). The illustrated, or illuminated, specimens are naturally the ones most highly esteemed. After that date there was scarcely any danger that any works would ever be lost, as was the case with so many of the writings of the Greeks and Romans. The encouragement to write new books was much enhanced. From that date our sources for the history of Europe become far more voluminous than those which we have for the previous periods, and our knowledge is increasingly detailed and reliable.

The invention of printing is one of the most tremendous events in the history of mankind. It underlies our modern democracies and our great national states, all parts of which are kept in touch by the newspaper. Everyone is now invited to learn to read as he learns to speak, for reading is going on all about children as they grow up. Printing, supplemented by our present means of transmitting news by telegraph, makes it possible for the inhabitants of a vast country to follow what their government is doing and to share the news of the world as readily as the cottagers in a tiny village were formerly able to catch up with the local gossip.

The Art of the Renaissance

The stimulus of the antique ideals of beauty and the renewed interest in man and nature is nowhere more apparent than in the art of the Renaissance period in Italy. The bonds of tradition, which had hampered medieval art,[1] were broken. The painters and sculptors continued, it is true, to depict the same religious subjects which their medieval predecessors had chosen. But in the fourteenth century the Italian artists began to draw their inspiration from the fragments of antique

[1] See page 293.

art which they found about them and from the world full of life and beauty in which they lived. Above all, they gave freer rein to their own imagination. The tastes and ideals of the individual artist were no longer repressed but became the dominant element in his work. The history of art becomes, during the Renaissance, a history of artists.

The Gothic style of architecture had never taken root in Italy. The Italians had continued to build their churches in a more or less modified Romanesque[1] form. While the soaring arches and delicate tracery of the Gothic cathedral had become the ideal of the North, in Italy the curving lines and harmonious proportions of the dome inspired the best efforts of the Renaissance builders. They borrowed many fine details, such as capitals and cornices, from the antique, and also—what was far more important—the simplicity and beauty of proportion which characterized classical architecture. Just as Italy had inherited, in a special sense, the traditions of classical literature, so it was natural that it should be more directly affected than the rest of Europe by the remains of Greek and Roman art. It is in harmony of proportion and beauty of detail that the great charm of the best Renaissance buildings consists.

It is, perhaps, in sculpture that the influence of the antique models was earliest and most obviously shown. The sculptor Niccola of Pisa (Niccola Pisano) stands out as the first distinguished leader in the forward movement. It is evident that he studied certain fragments of antique sculpture—a sarcophagus and a marble vase that had been found in Pisa—with the greatest care and enthusiasm. He frankly copied from them many details, and even several whole figures, in the reliefs on his most famous work, the pulpit in the baptistery at Pisa.[2]

[1] See pages 294–296.

[2] With the appearance of the mendicant orders, preaching again became an important part of the church service, and pulpits were erected in the body of the church, where the people could gather around them. These pulpits offered a fine opportunity to the sculptor and were often very elaborate and beautiful.

But while sculpture was the first of the arts to feel the new impetus, its progress was slow: it was not until the fifteenth century that it began, in Italy, to develop on wholly independent and original lines.

The paintings of the period of the early Renaissance were usually frescoes; that is, they were painted directly upon the

RELIEF BY NICCOLA OF PISA FROM PULPIT AT PISA, SHOWING INFLUENCE OF ANTIQUE MODELS

plaster walls of churches and sometimes of palaces. A few pictures, chiefly altar pieces, were executed on wooden panels, but it was not until the sixteenth century that easel paintings (detached pictures on canvas, wood, or other material) became common.

In the fourteenth century there was an extraordinary development in the art of painting under the guidance and inspiration of the first great Italian painter, Giotto. Before his time the frescoes, like the illuminations in the manuscripts of which we have spoken in a previous chapter, were exceedingly stiff

and unlifelike. With Giotto there comes a change. Antique art did not furnish him with any models to copy, for whatever the ancients had accomplished in painting had been destroyed.[1] He had therefore to deal with the problems of his art unaided, and, of course, he could only begin their solution. His trees and landscapes look like caricatures, his faces are all much alike, the garments hang in stiff straight folds. But he aimed to do what the earlier painters apparently did not dream of doing; that is, paint living, thinking, feeling men and women. He was not even satisfied to confine himself to the old Biblical subjects. Among his most famous frescoes are the scenes from the life of St. Francis,[2] a theme which appealed very strongly to the imagination of people and artists alike all through the fourteenth century.

Giotto's dominating influence upon the art of his century is due partly to the fact that he was a builder as well as a painter, and also designed reliefs for sculpture. This practicing of several different arts by the same artist was one of the striking features of the Renaissance period.

During the fifteenth century, which is known as the period of the Early Renaissance, art in Italy developed and progressed steadily, surely, and with comparative rapidity toward the glorious heights of achievement which it reached in the following century. The traditions of the Middle Ages were largely thrown aside, the lessons of ancient art thoroughly learned. As the artists became more complete masters of their tools and of all the technical processes of their art, they found themselves ever freer to express in their work what they saw and felt.

Florence was the great center of artistic activity during the fifteenth century. The greatest sculptors and nearly all the most famous painters and architects of the time either were

[1] The frescoes in Pompeii and other slight remnants of ancient painting were not discovered till much later.

[2] In the church of Santa Croce in Florence and in that of St. Francis at Assisi.

natives of Florence or did their best work there. During the first half of the century sculpture again took the lead. The bronze doors of the baptistery at Florence, by Ghiberti, which were completed about 1450, are among the very best products of Renaissance sculpture. Michelangelo declared them worthy to be the doors of paradise. A comparison of them with the doors of the cathedral of Pisa, which date from the end of the twelfth century, furnishes a striking illustration of the change that had taken place. A contemporary of Ghiberti, Luca della Robbia (1400–1482), is celebrated for his beautiful reliefs in glazed baked clay and in marble, of which many may be seen in Florence.

One of the best-known painters of the first half of the fifteenth century, Fra[1] Angelico, was a monk. His frescoes on the walls of the monastery of San Marco (and elsewhere) reflect a love of beauty and a cheerful piety, in striking contrast to the fiery zeal of Savonarola,[2] who, later in the century, went forth from this same monastery to denounce the vanities of the art-loving Florentines.[3]

Florence reached the height of its preëminence as an art center during the reign of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who was an ardent patron of all the arts. With his death (1492), and the subsequent brief but overwhelming influence of Savonarola, this preëminence passed to Rome, which was fast becoming one of the great capitals of Europe. The art-loving popes Julius II and Leo X[4] took pains to secure the services of the most distinguished artists and architects of the time in the building and adornment of St. Peter's and the Vatican; that is, the papal church and palace.

[1] "Fra" is an abbreviation of *frate*, "brother." [2] See pages 357–358.

[3] One of the most celebrated among the other Florentine painters of the period was Botticelli. He differs from most of his contemporaries in being at his best in easel pictures. His poetic conceptions, the graceful lines of his draperies, and the pensive charm of his faces have especially inspired a famous school of English painters of recent times—the Pre-Raphaelites.

[4] See pages 360–362.

The idea of the dome as the central feature of a church, which appealed so strongly to the architects of the Renaissance, reached its highest realization in rebuilding the ancient church of St. Peter. The task was begun in the fifteenth century; in 1506 it was taken up by Pope Julius II with his usual energy, and it was continued all through the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth, under the direction of a succession of the most famous artist-architects of the time, including Raphael and Michelangelo. The plan was changed repeatedly; but in its final form the building is a Latin cross surmounted by a great dome, one hundred and thirty-eight feet in diameter. The dimensions and proportions of this greatest of all churches never fail to impress the beholder with awe.

During the sixteenth century the art of the Renaissance reached its highest development. Among all the great artists of this period three stand out in heroic proportions—Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Raphael. The first two not only practiced, but achieved almost equal distinction in, the three arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting. It is impossible to give in a few lines any idea of the beauty and significance of the work of these great geniuses. Both Raphael and Michelangelo left behind them so many and such magnificent frescoes and paintings, and Michelangelo so many statues as well, that it is easy to appreciate their importance. Leonardo, on the other hand, left but little completed work. His influence on the art of his time, which was probably greater than that of either of the others, came from his many-sidedness, his originality, and his unflagging interest in the discovery and application of new methods. He was almost more experimenter than artist.[1]

While Florence could no longer boast of being the art center of Italy, it still produced great artists, among whom Andrea del Sarto may be especially mentioned. But the most important center of artistic activity outside of Rome in the sixteenth

[1] Leonardo was engineer and inventor as well and enjoys the reputation of being one of the most varied and penetrating of geniuses.

century was Venice. The distinguishing characteristic of the Venetian pictures is their glowing color. This is strikingly exemplified in the paintings of Titian, the most famous of all the Venetian painters.

It was natural that artists from the Northern countries should be attracted by the renown of the Italian masters and, after learning all that Italy could teach them, should return home to practice their art in their own particular fashion. About a century after Giotto's time two Flemish brothers, Van Eyck by name, not only showed that they were able to paint quite as excellent pictures as the Italians of their day, but also discovered a new way of mixing their colors superior to that employed in Italy. Later, when painting had reached its height in Italy, Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein the Younger in Germany vied with even Raphael and Michelangelo in the mastery of their art. Dürer is especially celebrated for his wonderful woodcuts and copperplate engravings, in which field he has perhaps never been excelled.

When, in the seventeenth century, painting had declined south of the Alps, Dutch and Flemish masters—above all, Rubens and Rembrandt—developed a new and admirable school of painting. To Van Dyck, another Flemish master, we owe many noble portraits of historically important persons. Spain gave to the world in the seventeenth century a painter whom some would rank higher than even the greatest artists of Italy; namely, Velasquez (1599–1660). His genius, like that of Van Dyck, is especially conspicuous in his marvelous portraits.

The Europeans venture on the High Seas

Shortly after the invention of printing, which promised so much for the diffusion of knowledge, the horizon of western Europe was further enlarged by a series of remarkable sea voyages which led ultimately to the exploration, by Europeans, of the whole globe. The Greeks and Romans knew little about

the world beyond southern Europe, northern Africa, and Western Asia; and much that they knew was forgotten during the Middle Ages. The Crusades took many Europeans as far east as Egypt and Syria. As early as Dante's time two Venetian merchants, the Polo brothers, visited China and were kindly received at Peking by the emperor of the Mongols. On a second journey they were accompanied by Marco Polo, the son of one of the brothers. When they got safely back to Venice in 1295, after a journey of twenty years, Marco gave an account of his experiences which filled his readers with wonder. Nothing stimulated the interest of the West more than his fabulous description of the golden island of Cipangu (Japan) and of the spice markets of the Moluccas and Ceylon.[1]

About the year 1318 Venice and Genoa opened up direct communication by sea with the towns of the Netherlands.[2] Their fleets, which touched at the port of Lisbon, aroused the commercial enterprise of the Portuguese, who soon began to undertake extended maritime expeditions. By the middle of the fourteenth century they had discovered the Canary Islands, Madeira, and the Azores. Before this time no one had ventured along the coast of Africa beyond the arid region of Sahara. The country was forbidding; there were no ports, and mariners were, moreover, hindered in their progress by the general belief that the torrid region was uninhabitable. In 1445, however, some adventurous sailors came within sight of a headland beyond the desert; struck by its luxuriant growth of tropical trees, they called it Cape Verde (Green Cape). Its discovery put an end once for all to the idea that there were only parched deserts to the south.

For a generation longer the Portuguese continued to venture farther and farther along the coast, in the hope of finding it

[1] Marco Polo's travels may easily be had in English. A certain Franciscan monk, William of Rubruk, visited the Far East somewhat earlier than the Polo brothers. The account of his journey, as well as the experiences of other medieval travelers, may be found in the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (published by The Macmillan Company, 1900).

[2] See map, pages 270–271

coming to an end, so that they might make their way by sea to India. At last, in 1486, Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Twelve years later (1498) Vasco da Gama, spurred on by Columbus's great discovery, after sailing around the Cape of Good Hope and northward beyond Zanzibar, steered straight across the Indian Ocean and reached Calicut, in Hindustan, by sea.

These adventurers were looked upon with natural suspicion by the Mohammedan spice merchants, who knew very well that their object was to establish a direct trade between the Spice Islands and western Europe. Hitherto the Mohammedans had had the monopoly of the spice trade between the Moluccas and the eastern ports of the Mediterranean, where Oriental products were handed over to Italian merchants. The Mohammedans were unable, however, to prevent the Portuguese from concluding treaties with the Indian princes and establishing trading stations at Goa and elsewhere. In 1512 a successor of Vasco da Gama reached Java and the Moluccas, where the Portuguese speedily built a fortress. By 1515 Portugal had become the greatest among maritime powers; and spices reached Lisbon regularly without the intervention of the Italian towns, which were mortally afflicted by the change and began to decline in commercial importance.

There is no doubt that the desire to obtain spices was the main reason at this period for the exploration of the globe. This motive led European navigators to try in succession every possible way to reach the East: by going around Africa; by sailing west in the hope of reaching the Indies, before they knew of the existence of America; then, after America was discovered, by sailing around it to the north or south, and even sailing around Europe to the north. It is hard for us to understand this enthusiasm for spices, for which we care much less nowadays. One former use of spices was to preserve food, which could not then as now be carried rapidly, while still fresh, from place to place; nor did our conveniences then exist for

keeping it by the use of ice. Moreover, spice served to make even spoiled food more palatable than it would otherwise have been.

It inevitably occurred to thoughtful men that the East Indies could be reached by sailing westward. The chief authority upon the form and size of the earth was still the ancient astronomer Ptolemy, who lived about A.D. 150. He had reckoned the earth to be about one sixth smaller than it is; and as Marco Polo had given an exaggerated idea of the distance which he and his companions had traveled eastward, it was supposed that it could not be a very long journey from Europe across the Atlantic to Japan.

The first plan, perhaps, for sailing west was submitted to the Portuguese king in 1474, by Toscanelli, a Florentine physician. In 1492, as we all know, a Genoese navigator, Columbus (b. 1451), who had had much experience on the sea, got together, with the help of Isabella of Castile, three little ships and undertook the journey westward to Cipangu, which he hoped to reach in five weeks. After thirty-two days from the time he left the Canary Islands he came upon land, the island of San Salvador, and believed himself to be in the East Indies. Going on from there he discovered the island of Cuba, which he believed to be the mainland of Asia, and then Haiti, which he mistook for the longed-for Cipangu. Although he made three later expeditions and sailed down the coast of South America as far as the Orinoco, he died without realizing that he had not been exploring the coast of Asia.

After the bold enterprises of Vasco da Gama and Columbus, an expedition headed by Magellan succeeded in circumnavigating the globe (1519–1522). There was now no reason why the new lands should not become more and more familiar to the European nations. The coast of North America was explored principally by English navigators, who for over a century pressed north, still in the vain hope of finding a northwest passage to the Spice Islands.

Greenland
Iceland
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
PORTUGAL
Discovered 1610
Hudson Bay Co.
Ruperts Land 1670
CANADA OR NEW FRANCE
Quebec 1608
ACADIA OR NEW SCOTLAND
LABRADOR
Cortereal 1500
NEWFOUNDLAND
Placentia
Cabot's 1st Voyage 1497
Port Royal 1604
Boston
NEW ENGLAND
NETHERLANDS 1664
NEW YORK 1664
Cabot 1498
Cortereal 1501
Azores 1450
Madeira 1418
Canary Is.
Santa Fe (1598)
Discovered by Coronado
Charlestown
C. Hatteras
Discovered by De Soto 1539-42
St. Augustine 1565
FLORIDA
Discovered by Ponce de Leon 1513
Bermudas 1609-12
Columbus 1st Voyage 1492-93
Bahama Is.
La Salle's Settlement 1684
MEXICO (NEW SPAIN) 1519
CALIFORNIA
S. Cruz Bay 1536
S. Salvador
Hispaniola
YUCATAN
CUBA 1508
Porto Rico
Jamaica (Brit. after 1655)
Guadeloupe
Martinique
Mexico
Vera Cruz
Guatemala
HONDURAS
NICARAGUA
Portobello
Curacao
Valencia
Caracas
Trinidad
Cape Verde Is. 1460
Gambia R.
Fort James
Magellan 1519
Columbus 3rd Voyage, 1498-1500
PANAMA
TERRA FIRMA
Trujillo
Bogota
South Sea (Pacific)
Discovered 1513 by Vasco Nunez
GUIANA
PORTUGUESE GUIANA
Amazon R.
Pinzon 1500
Equator
Quito
Guayaquil
Para
DUTCH 1633-54
Recife or Pernambuco
BRAZIL
BAHIA
S. Salvador or Bahia 1549, 1624-6
Cabral 1500
Trujillo
Lima
Callao
PERU
EMPIRE OF INCAS
Cuzco
Potosi
Paraguay R.
Jesuit Missions 1609
Asuncion
Rio de Janeiro
Magellan
Coquimbo
Santiago
Cordoba
La Plata
Buenos Aires
Rio de la Plata (Disc. by De Solis 1516)
Concepcion
CHILE 1529-1535
PATAGONIA
Straits of Magellan
Tierra del Fuego
PAPAL LINE OF DEMARCATION (SPANISH CLAIM 1522)
Longitude West from Greenwich

EXPLORATIONS AND COLONIES
OF THE 15TH, 16TH, AND 17TH CENTURIES
BRITISH
FRENCH
DANISH
SPANISH
PORTUGUESE
DUTCH
British and French Rival Claims
M. N. WORKS, BUFFALO
Longitude East from Greenwich
Tropic of Capricorn
Equator
Basra
Ormuz
Maskat
Massawa
Aden
C. Guardafui
Vasco da Gama 1498
Mombasa
Melinde
Zanzibar
C. Delgado
Mozambique 1508
KINGDOM OF MONOMOTAPA
Delagoa Bay
Vasco da Gama 1497
Madagascar
Mauritius 1598
Storms
C. of Good Hope
1651
Diu 1538
Ft. William 1696
Sura 1612
Bombay 1661
Goa 1510
Cannanore 1512
Calicut 1656
Colombo 1517
Ceylon
Madras 1639 (Ft. St. George)
Pondicherry 1672
Coromandel
Malabar
Pt. de Gale
Junk
Malacca 1511
Sumatra
Java
Borneo
Celebes
Moluccas
Mindanao
Philippines 1521
Macao
TONG-KING
Formosa
Magellan died 1521
Magellan's Companions
Conquered by Dutch 1602-20
Cancer
R. Congo
LABOR
2000
3000
the Equator

Cortes began the Spanish conquests in the western world by undertaking the subjugation of the Aztec empire in Mexico in 1519. A few years later Pizarro established the Spanish power in Peru. It is hardly necessary to say that Europeans exhibited an utter disregard for the rights of the people with whom they came in contact, and treated them with contemptuous cruelty. Spain now superseded Portugal as a maritime power, and her importance in the sixteenth century is to be attributed largely to the wealth which came to her from her possessions in the New World.

By the end of the century the Spanish Main (that is, the northern coast of South America) was much frequented by adventurous seamen, who combined in about equal parts the occupations of merchant, slaver, and pirate. Many of these hailed from English ports, and it is to them that England owes the beginning of her commercial greatness.

While Columbus and the Portuguese navigators were bringing hitherto-unknown regions of the earth to the knowledge of Europe, a Polish astronomer, Koppernigk (commonly known by his Latinized name, Copernicus), was reaching the conclusion that the ancient writers had been misled in supposing the earth to be the center of the universe. He discovered that, with the other planets, the earth revolved about the sun. This opened the way to an entirely new conception of the heavenly bodies and their motions, which has formed the basis of modern astronomy.

Naturally it was a great shock to men to have it suggested that their dwelling-place, instead of being God's greatest work, to which he had subordinated everything, was but a tiny speck in comparison to the whole universe, and its sun but one of an innumerable host of similar bodies, each of which might have its particular family of planets revolving about it. Theologians, both Protestant and Catholic, declared the statements of Copernicus foolish and wicked and contrary to the teachings of the Bible. He was prudent enough to defer the publication

of his great work until just before his death; he thus escaped any persecution to which his discovery might have subjected him.

The period of which we have been speaking was by no means distinguished merely for the revival of classical learning. It was not simply a rebirth of the ancient knowledge and art, but a time during which Europe laid the foundations for a development essentially different from that of the ancient world and for achievements undreamed of by Aristotle or Pliny.

CHAPTER XV

THE MAP OF EUROPE AT THE OPENING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

How the Modern State was Begotten

Almost everyone recognizes that mankind must live under a government which has the right to pass laws and enforce them, and which has the resources to defend the country against invaders. In fact, it would seem to be the business of government to maintain order within and to protect its people from attack from without. So much is clear.

When, however, it comes to determining who should select the governors and how they should be controlled in the interest of the people at large, how far governments should try to regulate morals, business, religion, or recreation, what part of our income they should take from us, how large an army they should maintain, or what excuses they may urge for compelling young men to hazard their lives or health in wars, there is a wide divergence of opinion. These are great questions at the present day in all countries. They are likely to remain great questions for some time to come.

Political history has to do with governments, or states,—their organization, their laws, and, above all, their wars; for the right to make war seems to be traditionally one of the most unmistakable prerogatives of a state.

The present states and governments of the world have all developed through gradual reforms and revolutions from earlier governments. They retain inevitably many ancient traits which can only be understood by the study of political history. It is political history that explains how the map of Europe—

so strange to us in the year 1500, let us say—has assumed its present aspect. Historians have been accustomed to pay special attention to wars, for these are the most striking and exciting of the State's activities.

Political history had become somewhat discredited before the World War, for mankind is interested in many other things besides politics: in business, for example, and in amusements, which may take the form of art and literature; in religion; and in the speculations of scientists about man's nature and the processes going on in the world in which he lives, together with all the great inventions which have done far more (at least since the seventeenth century) than any activity of the State, whether in peace or war, to change our habits and the conditions in which we live, our possibilities, and our problems. But the World War brought the problems of the State to the fore once more and raised to a place of supreme importance the question of how states are to be prevented from destroying themselves and one another by their fierce contentions and rivalries.

So while it is wearisome enough to review old futile wars which seem all too often to have been nothing except "enterprises in mutual damage and discomfort," and treaties which were commonly forthwith broken, and the shifting of boundary lines in the interest of competing royal families, it seems essential in any review of the past to reckon with the history of the State, its predatory habits, and what the police might call, in the case of an individual, its criminal record. These are traditions which it is proving very difficult to overcome. The prerogatives of even a republic like the United States still go under the name *sovereignty*, which means what a sovereign or king can do. So the "sovereignty" of all modern states comes from the powers to which princes were formerly wont to lay claim.

Accordingly, some part of history must be devoted to the policy of rulers, their wars and conquests, their defeats and losses of territory, and the various attempts to control the

ruler by parliaments, by public opinion, and, recently, by responsible ministries. In this way only can we see how the various existing national states have come about, with their claims to sovereignty. But only so much can be included in these volumes as gives an idea of the frequency of wars, the excuses urged, and the general outcome. One can hardly expect to remember the fleeting alliances, all the surging hither and thither of boundary lines as determined by ephemeral treaties; but it is possible to gain a fairly clear idea of the process by which the feudalized Europe of the Middle Ages became that of Maximilian, Charles V, Henry VIII, and Francis I; how this Europe reached the estate it had before the World War, and how this war wrought new changes the further significance of which no man can as yet estimate.

We have already seen how the Roman Empire broke up in the West and was reduced in the East by the invading Mohammedans and later by the Turks. The feudal idea of personal allegiance based on homage and suzerainty has been described, as well as the efforts of the German emperors to keep their vassals in control while they were engaged in the hazardous enterprise of keeping a hold on Italy and the popes. The Italian despots gained and lost towns. Venice and Genoa sought to control distant regions in the interest of their business. After the Norman Conquest English rulers struggled to keep broad tracts across the Channel under their power, and French kings fought against English kings and against their own vassals. And it is from this welter that the modern states of western Europe have in various ways emerged.

It will be observed that family relations—marriages, the birth and death of royal princes—have played a great part in political history down to our own days, though ever lessening in importance. The right to be a ruler was deemed a sort of private possession to be handed down to one's direct heir or nearest relative by birth, subject to many interferences and exceptions. Sovereignty was a kind of property, like a piece

of land or a silver cup, to be transmitted in the same way to one's heir. We find the heir "apparent," who would lawfully succeed to the throne if he did not die before his ancestor who was then ruler; the heir "presumptive," who would be king if the ruler had no more children. One could lay claim to a kingdom through his mother or wife, as he might to her oak sideboard or parrot. Uncles might relish the news of the premature demise of a nephew. Babies could be king by right, even while still in the womb. Hence it comes about that our political histories are furnished with elaborate genealogical tables exhibiting the excuses for innumerable invasions in order to lay hands on a new crown which had belonged to some relative. The particular details in any special case are rather unimportant, but many examples of this proprietary conception of the State will appear as we proceed.

The Wars of the Roses and the Tudor Dynasty

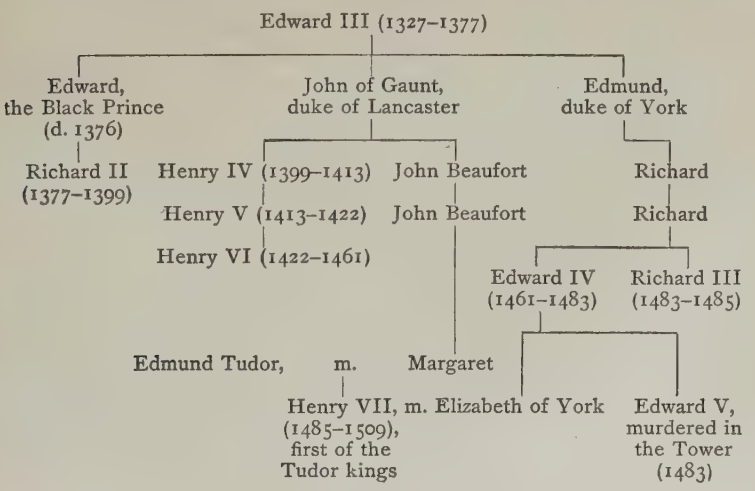
The close of the Hundred Years' War (see pages 170 ff.) was followed in England by the Wars of the Roses (1455–1485), between the rival houses which were struggling for the crown. The badge of the House of Lancaster, to which Henry VI belonged, was a red rose, and that of the Duke of York, who proposed to push him off his throne, a white rose. Each party was supported by a group of the wealthy and powerful nobles whose rivalries, conspiracies, treasons, murders, and executions fill the annals of England during this period. Vast estates had come into the hands of the higher nobility by inheritance and by marriages with wealthy heiresses. Many of the dukes and earls were related to the royal family and so were inevitably drawn into the dynastic struggles.

The nobles no longer owed their military support to vassals who were bound to follow them to war. Like the king, they relied upon hired soldiers. It was easy to find plenty of restless fellows who were willing to become the retainers of a

nobleman if he would agree to clothe them with his livery and keep open house, where they might eat and drink their fill. Their master was to help them when they got into trouble, and they on their part were expected to intimidate, misuse, and even murder at need those who opposed the interests of their chief. When the French war was over, the unruly elements of society poured back across the Channel and, as retainers of the rival lords, became the terror of the country. They bullied judges and juries, and helped the nobles to control the selection of those who were sent to Parliament.

It is needless to speak of the several battles and the many skirmishes of the miserable Wars of the Roses. These lasted from 1455 (when the Duke of York set seriously to work to displace the weak-minded Lancastrian king, Henry VI) until the accession of Henry VII, of the House of Tudor, thirty years later. After several battles the Yorkist leader, Edward IV, assumed the crown in 1461 and was recognized by Parliament, which declared Henry VI and the two preceding Lancastrian kings usurpers.[1]

[1] Descent of the rival houses of Lancaster and York:



Edward was a vigorous monarch and held his own until his death in 1483. Edward IV's eldest son and legal successor, Edward V, was only a little boy, so that the government fell into the hands of the young king's uncle, Richard, duke of Gloucester. The temptation to make himself king was too great to be resisted, and Richard soon seized the crown. Both the sons of Edward IV were killed in the Tower of London, and with the knowledge of their uncle, it was commonly believed. This murder made Richard unpopular even at a time when one could kill one's political rivals without incurring general opprobrium. A new aspirant to the throne organized a conspiracy. Richard III was defeated and slain in the battle of Bosworth Field in 1485, and the crown which had fallen from his head was placed upon that of the first Tudor king, Henry VII.

The new king had no particular right to the throne of England, although he was descended from Edward III through his mother. He hastened, however, to procure the recognition of Parliament, and married Edward IV's daughter, thus blending the red and white roses in the Tudor badge.

The Wars of the Roses had important results. Nearly all the powerful families of England had been drawn into the fierce struggles; and a great part of the nobility, whom the kings had formerly feared, had perished on the battlefield or lost their heads in the ruthless executions carried out by each party after it gained a victory. This left the king far more powerful than ever before. He could now dominate Parliament, even if he could not dispense with it.

For a century and more the Tudor kings enjoyed almost despotic power. England ceased for a time to enjoy the free government for which the foundations had been laid under the Edwards and the Lancastrian kings, whose embarrassments at home and abroad had made them constantly dependent upon the aid of the nation.[1]

[1] See *Readings*, chap. xx.

How France tended to Absolute Monarchy

In France the closing years of the Hundred Years' War had witnessed a great increase of the king's power through the establishment of a well-organized standing army. The feudal army had long since disappeared. Even before the opening of the war the nobles had begun to be paid for their military services and no longer furnished troops as a condition of holding fiefs. But the companies of soldiers, although nominally under the command of royal officers, were often really independent of the king. They found their pay very uncertain, and plundered their countrymen as well as the enemy. As the war drew to a close the lawless troopers became a terrible scourge to the country. They were known as *flayers* on account of the horrible way in which they tortured the peasants in the hope of extracting money from them. In 1439 the Estates General approved a plan devised by the king for putting an end to this evil. Thereafter no one was to raise a company without the permission of the king, who was to name the captains and fix the number of the soldiers and the character of their arms.

The Estates agreed that the king should use a certain tax, called the *taille*, to support the troops necessary for the protection of the frontier. This was a fatal concession, for the king now had an army and the right to collect what he chose to consider a permanent tax, the amount of which he later greatly increased; he was not dependent, as was the English king, upon the grants made for brief periods by the representatives of the nation.

Before the king of France could hope to establish a compact, well-organized state it was necessary for him to reduce the power of his vassals, some of whom were almost his equals in strength. The older feudal dynasties, as we have seen, had many of them succumbed to the attacks and the diplomacy of the kings of the thirteenth century, especially of St. Louis. But he and his successors had raised up fresh rivals by granting

whole provinces, called *appanages,*[1] to their younger sons. In this way new and powerful lines of feudal nobles were established, such as the houses of Orleans, Anjou, Bourbon, and, above all, Burgundy. The accompanying map shows the region immediately subject to the king—the royal domain—at the time of the expulsion of the English. It clearly indicates what still remained to be done in order to free France from feudalism and make it a great nation. The process of reducing the prerogatives of the nobles had been begun. They had been forbidden to coin money, to maintain armies, and to tax their subjects, and the powers of the king's judges had been extended over all the realm. But the task of consolidating France was reserved for the son of Charles VII, the shrewd and treacherous Louis XI (1461–1483).

By far the most dangerous of Louis XI's vassals were Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (1419–1467), and his impetuous son, Charles the Bold (1467–1477). Just a century before Louis XI came to the throne the old line of Burgundian dukes[2] had died out, and in 1363 the same King John whom the English captured and carried off to England presented Burgundy to his younger son Philip.[3] By fortunate marriages and lucky windfalls the dukes of Burgundy had added a number of important fiefs to their original possessions, and Philip the Good ruled over Franche-Comté, Luxemburg, Flanders, Artois, Brabant, and other provinces and towns which lie in what is now Holland and Belgium.

Charles the Bold busied himself for some years before his father's death in forming alliances with the other powerful

[1] See page 160.

[2] The term "Burgundy" is one of the most puzzling handed down to us. It was originally applied to the kingdom set up within the Roman Empire by the barbarian German tribe of Burgundians along the lower course of the Rhone, including the ancient city of Marseille. This kingdom had an intricate history, which it would be wearisome to relate. To the west of it, by the year 1000, was a duchy of Burgundy, which tended to expand to the east and northwest into the Netherlands (compare the map on page 184 with that on page 350).

[3] See the genealogical table on page 171.

French vassals and conspiring against Louis. Upon becoming duke himself he set his heart upon two things. He resolved, first, to conquer Lorraine, which divided his territories into two parts and made it difficult to pass from Franche-Comté to Luxemburg. In the second place, he proposed to have himself crowned king of the territories which his forefathers had accumulated, and in this way to establish a strong new state between France and Germany.

Naturally neither the king of France nor the Emperor sympathized with Charles's ambitions. Louis taxed his exceptional ingenuity in frustrating his aspiring vassal, and the Emperor refused to crown Charles as king when he appeared at Trèves eager for the ceremony. The most humiliating, however, of the defeats which Charles encountered came from an unexpected quarter. He attempted to chastise his neighbors the Swiss for siding with his enemies and was soundly beaten by that brave people in two decisive battles.

The next year (1477) Charles fell ingloriously in an attempt to take the town of Nancy. His lands went to his daughter Mary, who was immediately married to the Emperor's son, Maximilian. This alliance greatly annoyed Louis XI, who had already seized the duchy of Burgundy and hoped to gain still more of his rival's realms. The great importance of this marriage, which resulted in bringing the Netherlands into the hands of Austria, will be seen when we come to consider Charles V (the grandson of Mary and Maximilian) and his vast empire.[1]

Louis XI did far more for the French monarchy than check his chief vassal and reclaim a part of the Burgundian territory. He had himself made heir to a number of provinces in central and southern France,—Anjou, Maine, Provence, etc.,—which by the death of their possessors came under the king's immediate control (1481). He humiliated in various ways the vassals who in his early days had combined with Charles the Bold

[1] See pages 355 ff.

against him. The duke of Alençon he imprisoned; the rebellious duke of Nemours he caused to be executed in the most cruel manner. It sometimes seemed as if he gloried in being the most rascally among rascals, the most treacherous among the traitors whom he so artfully circumvented in the interests of the French monarchy.

Both England and France emerged from the troubles and desolations of the Hundred Years' War stronger than ever before. In both countries the kings had overcome the menace of feudalism by destroying the power of the great families. The royal government was becoming constantly more powerful. Commerce and industry increased the national wealth and supplied the monarchs with the revenue necessary to maintain government officials and a sufficient armed force to execute the laws and keep order throughout their realms. They were no longer forced to rely upon the uncertain pledges of their vassals. In short, the French and the English were both becoming nations, each with a strong national feeling and a king whom everyone, both high and low, recognized and obeyed as the head of the government.

The House of Hapsburg

Two events took place in the early sixteenth century which fundamentally influenced the history of Europe. (1) By a series of royal marriages a great part of western Europe was brought under the control of a single ruler, Emperor Charles V. He inherited Burgundy, Spain, portions of Italy, and the Austrian territories, and in 1519 he was chosen emperor. There had been no such dominion as his in Europe since the time of Charlemagne. Within its bounds lay Vienna, Brussels, Madrid, Palermo, Naples, Milan, even the City of Mexico. Its creation and the struggles which accompanied its dissolution form one of the most important chapters in the history of modern Europe. (2) Just at the time when Charles was assuming the

FRANCE
under
LOUIS XI
Royal Posessions on Accessions of Louis XI
Acquisitions of Louis XI
Feudal Possessions
Burgundian Possessions
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 120
NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GULF OF LIONS
GULF OF GENOA
HOLLAND
BRABANT
FLANDERS
ARTOIS
PICARDY
EURE
NORMANDY
ISLE OF FRANCE
CHAMPAGNE
LORRAINE
ALSACE
VOSGES MTS.
SWITZERLAND
FRANCHE COMTE
BURGUNDY
BERRY
BOURBON
MARCHE
LIMOGES
AUVERGNE
DAUPHINY
SAVOY
ALPS
MILAN
GENOA
PROVENCE
LANGUEDOC
GUIENNE
PERIGORD
SAINTONGE
POITOU
ANJOU
MAINE
TOURAINE
ALENCON
ARMAGNAC
ALBRET
BEARN
COMMINGES
FOIX
ROUSSILLON
PYRENEES
SPAIN
Portsmouth
Calais
Boulogne
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Bruges
Ghent
Lille
Arras
Cambrai
Namur
Cueldres
Neuss
Cologne
Treves
Metz
Nancy
Strasbourg
Dieppe
Amiens
Beauvais
Clermont
Reims
Meaux
Chalons
Verdun
Bouillons
Sedan
Dourlemy
Sens
Courtenay
Orleans
Vendome
Alencon
Rennes
Nantes
Tours
Thouars
Roche sur Yon
LaRochelle
Bourges
Nevers
Charolais
Besancon
Mulhausen
Basel
St. Gall
Sempach
Morgarten
Lucerne
Lausanne
Sion
Geneva
Lyon
Aosta
Milan
Turin
Grenoble
Valence
Montpellier
Narbonne
Carcassonne
Foix
Castres
Montauban
Agen
Bordeaux
Buch
Marsan
Toulouse
Bayonne
Orange
Avignon
Nice
Marseille
Genoa
Longitude East from Greenwich
West

responsibilities that his vast domains brought with them, the first successful revolt against the medieval Church was beginning. This was to result in the disruption of the Church and the establishment of two great religious parties, the Catholic and the Protestant, which have endured down to the present time. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to describing the origin, extent, and character of the empire of Charles V and to preparing the reader to grasp the *political* import of the Protestant revolt.

Before mentioning the family alliances which led to the consolidation of such tremendous political power in the hands of one person, it will be necessary, first, to note the rise of the House of Hapsburg, to which Charles belonged; secondly, to account for the appearance in European affairs of Spain, which has hitherto scarcely come into our story.

The German kings had failed to create a strong kingdom such as those over which Louis XI of France and Henry VII of England ruled. Their fine title of "Emperor" had made them a great deal of trouble, as we have seen. Their attempts to keep Italy as well as Germany under their rule, and the alliance of the mighty bishop of Rome with their enemies, had well-nigh ruined them. Their position was further weakened by their failure to render their office strictly hereditary. Although the emperors were often succeeded by their sons, each new emperor had to be *elected*, and those great vassals who controlled the election naturally took care to bind the candidate by solemn promises not to interfere with their privileges and independence. The result was that, after the downfall of the Hohenstaufens, Germany fell apart into a great number of practically independent states, of which none were very large and some were extremely small.

After an interregnum Rudolf of Hapsburg had been chosen emperor in 1273.[1] The original seat of the Hapsburgs, who

[1] Rudolf, like many of his successors, was, strictly speaking, only king of the Romans, since he was never crowned emperor at Rome.

were destined to play a great part in European affairs down to the close of the World War, was in northern Switzerland, where the remains of their original castle may still be seen. Rudolf was the first prominent member of the family; he established its position and influence by seizing the duchies of Austria and Styria, which were to become, under his successors, the nucleus of the extensive Austrian possessions.

About a century and a half after the death of Rudolf the electors began regularly to choose as emperor the ruler of the Austrian possessions, so that the imperial title became, to all intents and purposes, hereditary in the Hapsburg line.[1] The Hapsburgs were, however, far more interested in adding to their family domains than in advancing the interests of the now almost defunct Holy Roman Empire. This, in the memorable words of Voltaire, had ceased to be either holy, or Roman, or an empire.

Maximilian I, who was emperor at the opening of the sixteenth century, was absorbed in his foreign enterprises rather than in the improvement of the German government. Like so many of his predecessors, he was especially anxious to get possession of northern Italy. By his marriage with the daughter of Charles the Bold he brought the Netherlands into what proved a fateful union with Austria. Still more important was the extension of the power of the Hapsburgs over Spain, a country which had hitherto had almost no connection with Germany.

Spain enters the Stage

The Mohammedan conquest served to make the history of Spain very different from that of the other states of Europe.[2] One of its first and most important results was the conversion of a great part of the inhabitants to Mohammedanism. During the tenth century, which was so dark a period in the rest of

[1] From 1438 to 1806 only two emperors belonged to another family than the Hapsburgs.

[2] See pages 93 and 96.

Europe, the Arab civilization in Spain reached its highest development. The various elements in the population—Roman, Gothic, Arab, and Berber—appear to have been thoroughly amalgamated. Agriculture, industry, commerce, art, and the sciences made rapid progress. Cordova, with its half million inhabitants, its stately palaces, its university, its three thousand mosques and three hundred public baths, was perhaps unrivaled at that period in the whole world. There were thousands of students at the university of Cordova at a time when, in the North, only clergymen had mastered even the simple arts of reading and writing. This brilliant civilization lasted, however, for hardly more than a hundred years. By the middle of the eleventh century the caliphate of Cordova had fallen to pieces, and shortly afterward the country was overrun by new invaders from Africa.

Meanwhile the remnants of the earlier Christian rule continued to exist in the mountain fastnesses of northern Spain. Even as early as the year 1000[1] several small Christian kingdoms—Castile, Aragon, and Navarre—had come into existence. Castile, in particular, began to push back the Arabs and, in 1085, reconquered Toledo from them. Aragon also widened its bounds by incorporating Barcelona and conquering the territory watered by the Ebro. By 1250 the long war of the Christians against the Mohammedans, which fills the medieval annals of Spain, had been so successfully prosecuted that Castile extended to the south coast and included the great towns of Cordova and Seville. The kingdom of Portugal was already as large as it is today.

The Moors, as the Spanish Mohammedans were called, maintained themselves for two centuries more in the mountainous kingdom of Granada, in the southern part of the peninsula. During this period Castile, which was the largest of the Spanish kingdoms and embraced all the central part of the peninsula, was too much occupied by internal feuds and struggles

[1] See the map following page 184.

over the crown to wage successful war against the Moorish kingdom to the south and perfect the Christian conquest of Spain.

The first Spanish monarch whose name need be mentioned here was Queen Isabella of Castile, who, in 1469, concluded an all-important marriage with Ferdinand, the heir to the crown of Aragon. It is with the resulting union of Castile and Aragon that the great importance of Spain in European history begins. For the next hundred years Spain was to enjoy more military power than any other European state. Ferdinand and Isabella undertook to complete the conquest of the peninsula, and in 1492, after a long siege, the city of Granada fell into their hands, and therewith the last vestige of Moorish domination disappeared.

In the same year that the conquest of the peninsula was completed, the discoveries of Columbus, made under the auspices of Queen Isabella, opened up the sources of undreamed-of wealth beyond the seas. The transient greatness of Spain in the sixteenth century is to be attributed largely to the riches which poured in from her American possessions. The shameless and cruel looting of the Mexican and Peruvian cities by Cortes and Pizarro, and the products of the silver mines of the New World, enabled Spain to assume, for a time, a position in Europe which her internal strength and normal resources would never have permitted.

Unfortunately the most industrious, skillful, and thrifty among the inhabitants of Spain, the Moors and the Jews, who well-nigh supported the whole kingdom with the products of their toil, were bitterly persecuted by the Christians. So anxious was Isabella to rid her kingdom of the infidels that she revived the court of the Inquisition.[1] For several decades its tribunals arrested and condemned innumerable persons who were suspected of heresy, and thousands were burned at the stake during this period. These wholesale executions have served to associate Spain especially with the horrors of the

[1] See pages 246–247.

25°
20°
15°
10°
5°
0°
5°
55°
50°
45°
40°
35°
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES IS.
Bergen
Aberdeen
Edinburgh
Glasgow
IRELAND
Dublin
Waterford
Cork
Gloucester
Severn
Oxford
London
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Calais
Ghent
Cherbourg
Bremen
Magdeburg
Wittenberg
Leipzig
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
Brest
BRITTANY
NORMANDY
Paris
Orleans
Loire
Nantes
Frankfurt
Speyer
Strasbourg
Augsburg
BAY OF BISCAY
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Lyon
Milan
Verona
Turin
Avignon
Genoa
Nice
Florence
Toulon
Siena
Rome
Naples
Cagliari
Oporto
Coimbra
Lisbon
Oviedo
Leon
Burgos
Saragossa
Toledo
Madrid
Alcantara
Tagus
Valencia
Tortosa
Barcelona
Córdoba
Palos
Seville
Granada
Cadiz
Malaga
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Oran
Algiers
Tunis
MINORCA
BALEARIC IS.
MEDITERR
KM. OF FEZ
Longitude 5° West from Greenwich 0°
5°
10°

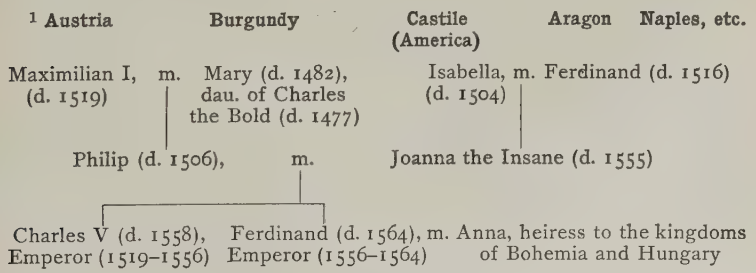
EUROPE
about the middle of the
SIXTEENTH CENTURY
Hapsburg Possessions
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
MUSCOVITE EMPIRE
RUSSIA
KHANATE OF KAZAN
KHANATE OF THE CRIMEA
GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA
KM. OF POLAND
KM. OF HUNGARY
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
BLACK SEA
SEA OF AZOV
TCHERKESSIA (Circassia)
GEORGIA
ARMENIA
PERSIA
SIVERIA
UKRAINE
Terr. of the Cossacks
VEDISON
MOLDAVIA
BESSARABIA
TRANSYLVANIA
WALLACHIA
Danube
Nicopolis
DOBRUDJA
BULGARIA
SERBIA
ALBANIA
MACEDONIA
Constantinople
Brusa
Sinope
Trebizond
Smyrna
Athens
MOREA
ZANTE
CORFU
RHODES
Stockholm
Moscow
Smolensk
Breslau
Cast 20° from Greenwich 25°

Inquisition. Finally, in 1609, the Moors were driven out of the country altogether. The persecution diminished or disheartened the most useful and enterprising portion of the Spanish people and speedily and permanently crippled a country which in the sixteenth century was granted a singular opportunity to become a flourishing and powerful monarchy.

Maximilian the Royal Matchmaker

Maximilian, the German emperor, was not satisfied with securing Burgundy for his house by his marriage with the daughter of Charles the Bold. He also arranged a marriage between their son, Philip, and Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Philip died in 1506, and his poor wife became insane with grief and was thus incapacitated for ruling; but their eldest son, Charles, could look forward to an unprecedented accumulation of glorious titles as soon as his grandfathers, Maximilian and Ferdinand, should pass away.[1] He was soon to be duke of Brabant, margrave of Antwerp, count of Holland, archduke of Austria, count of Tyrol, king of Castile, Aragon, and Naples, and ruler of the vast Spanish possessions in America—to mention a few of his more important titles.

Ferdinand died in 1516, and Charles, now a lad of sixteen, who had been born and reared in the Netherlands, was much bewildered when he landed in his Spanish dominions. His Flemish advisers were distasteful to the haughty Spaniards;



suspicion and opposition awaited him in each of his several Spanish kingdoms, for he found by no means a united Spain. Each kingdom demanded a special recognition of its rights and suggested important reforms before it would acknowledge Charles as its king.

It seemed as if the boy would have his hands full in asserting his authority as "king of Spain"; nevertheless, a still more imposing title and still more perplexing responsibilities were to fall upon his shoulders before he was twenty years old. It had long been Maximilian's ambition that his grandson should succeed him upon the imperial throne. After his death, in 1519, the electors finally chose Charles instead of the rival candidate, Francis I of France. By this election the king of Spain, who had not yet been in Germany and who never learned its language, became its ruler at a critical juncture, when the teachings of Luther were producing unprecedented dissension and political distraction. We shall hereafter refer to him by his imperial title of "Charles V."

The Italian Adventures of the French Kings

To understand the Europe of Charles V and the constant wars which occupied him all his life we must turn back and review the questions which had been engaging the attention of his fellow kings before he came to the throne. It is particularly necessary to see clearly how Italy had suddenly become the center of commotion,—the battlefield for Spain, France, and Germany.

Charles VIII of France (1483–1498) possessed little of the practical sagacity of his father, Louis XI. He dreamed of a mighty expedition against the Turks and of the conquest of Constantinople. As the first step he determined to lead an army into Italy and assert his claim, inherited from his father, to the kingdom of Naples, which was in the hands of the house

of Aragon.[1] While Italy had everything to lose by permitting a powerful monarch to get a foothold in the South, there was no probability that the various little states into which the peninsula was divided would lay aside their perpetual animosities and combine against the invader. On the contrary, Charles VIII was urged by some of the Italians themselves to come.

Had Lorenzo the Magnificent still been alive, he might have organized a league to oppose the French king, but he had died in 1492, two years before Charles started. Lorenzo's sons failed to maintain the influence over the people of Florence which their father had enjoyed, and the leadership of the city fell into the hands of the Dominican friar, Savonarola, whose fervid preaching attracted and held for a time the attention of the fickle Florentine populace. He believed himself to be a prophet, and proclaimed that God was about to scourge Italy for its iniquities, and that men should escape His wrath by renouncing their lives of sin and pleasure.

When Savonarola heard of the French invasion, it appeared to him that this was indeed the looked-for scourge of God, which might afflict the Church but would also purify it. His prophecy seemed to be fulfilled, and his listeners were stricken with terror. As Charles approached Florence the people rose in revolt against the Medici, sacked their palaces, and drove out the three sons of Lorenzo. Savonarola became

[1] It might be well to recall here that in their long struggle with Frederick II and the Hohenstaufens the popes finally called in Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis, and gave to him both Naples and Sicily (see page 212). Sicily revolted in 1282 and was united with the kingdom of Aragon, which still held it when Charles V came to the Spanish throne. The older branch of the House of Anjou died out in 1435, and Naples was conquered by the king of Aragon and was still in his family when Charles VIII undertook his Italian expedition. The younger branch of the House of Anjou had never reigned in Naples, but its members were careful to retain their asserted title to it, and upon the death of their last representative this title was transferred to Louis XI. He, however, prudently refused to attempt to oust the Aragonese usurpers, as he had quite enough to do at home.

the chief figure in the new republic which was established. Charles was admitted into Florence, but his ugly, insignificant figure disappointed the Florentines. They soon made it clear to him that they would not regard him in any sense as a conqueror, and would oppose a prolonged occupation by the French. Savonarola said to him: "The people are afflicted by your stay in Florence, and you waste your time. God has called you to renew his Church. Go forth to your high calling lest God visit you in his wrath and choose another instrument in your stead to carry out his designs." So, after a week's stay, the French army left Florence and proceeded on its southward journey.[1]

The next power with which Charles VIII had to deal was represented by a person in every way the opposite of the Dominican friar,—Pope Alexander VI. After the troubles of the Great Schism and the councils,[2] the popes had set to work to organize their possessions in central Italy into a compact principality. For a time they seemed to be little more than Italian princes. They did not make rapid progress in their political enterprises because, in the first place, they were usually advanced in years before they came to power and so had little time to carry out their projects; and, in the second place, they showed too much anxiety to promote the interests of their relatives. The selfish, unscrupulous means employed by these worldly prelates naturally brought great discredit upon the Church.

[1] Savonarola came to a cruel end. For a time he induced the Florentines to give up the carnival, with its reckless gayety, and then to make a great bonfire of all their "vanities" which stood in the way of a godly life,—frivolous and immoral books, pictures, jewels, and trinkets. But the people tired of this puritanical restraint. Savonarola had enemies in his own Dominican order, and naturally the Franciscans disliked his sudden prominence and popularity. Worst of all, Pope Alexander VI had him arrested in 1497 and condemned as a heretic and despiser of the Holy See. He was hanged and his body burned in the same famous Florentine square where he had burned the "vanities" hardly more than a twelvemonth before.

[2] These will be taken up in the following chapter.

There was probably never a more openly profligate Italian despot than Pope Alexander VI (1493–1503) of the notorious Spanish house of Borgia. He frankly set to work to advance the interests of his children, as if he were merely a secular ruler. For one of his sons, Cæsar Borgia, he proposed to form a duchy east of Florence. Cæsar outdid his father in crime. He not only entrapped and mercilessly slaughtered his enemies, but had his brother assassinated and thrown into the Tiber. Both he and his father were accused of constant recourse to poisoning, an art in which they were popularly supposed to have gained extraordinary proficiency. It is noteworthy that when Machiavelli prepared his *Prince*[1] he chose for his hero Cæsar Borgia, as possessing in the highest degree those qualities which went to make up a successful Italian ruler.

The Pope was greatly perturbed by the French invasion, and in spite of the fact that he was the head of Christendom, he entered into negotiations with the Turkish sultan in the hope of gaining aid against the French king. He could not, however, prevent Charles from entering Rome and later continuing on his way to Naples.

The success of the French king seemed marvelous, for even Naples speedily fell into his hands. But he and his troops were demoralized by the wines and other pleasures of the South, and meanwhile his enemies at last began to form a combination against him. Ferdinand of Aragon was fearful lest he might lose Sicily, and Maximilian objected to having the French control Italy. Charles's situation became so precarious that at the close of 1495 he may well have thought himself fortunate to escape, with the loss of only a single battle, from the country he had hoped to conquer.

The results of Charles's expedition appear at first sight trivial; in reality they were momentous. In the first place, it was now clear to Europe that the Italians had no real national feeling, however much they might despise the "barbarians"

[1] See page 314.

who lived north of the Alps. From this time down to the latter half of the nineteenth century Italy was dominated by foreign nations, especially Spain and Austria. In the second place, the French learned to admire the art and culture of Italy. The nobles began to change their feudal castles, which since the invention of gunpowder were no longer impregnable, into luxurious country houses. The new scholarship of Italy took root and flourished not only in France but in England and Germany as well. Consequently, just as Italy was becoming, politically, the victim of foreign aggressions, it was also losing, never to regain it, that intellectual preëminence which it had enjoyed since the revival of interest in classical literature.

In 1498 the romantic Charles VIII died without leaving any male heirs and was succeeded by a distant relative, Louis XII, who renewed the Italian adventures of his predecessor. As his grandmother was a member of the Milanese house of the Visconti, Louis laid claim to Milan as well as to Naples. He quickly conquered Milan, and then arranged a secret treaty with Ferdinand of Aragon (1500) for the division of the kingdom of Naples between them. It was not hard for the combined French and Spanish troops to conquer the country, but the two allies soon disagreed, and four years later Louis sold his title to Naples for a large sum to Ferdinand.

Pope Julius II, who succeeded Alexander VI (1503), was hardly more spiritual than his predecessor. He was a warlike and intrepid old man, who did not hesitate on at least one occasion to put on a soldier's armor and lead his troops in person. Julius was a Genoese and harbored an inveterate hatred against Genoa's great commercial rival, Venice. The Venetians especially enraged the Pope by taking possession of some of the towns on the northern border of his dominions, and he threatened to reduce their city to a fishing village. The Venetian ambassador replied, "As for you, Holy Father, if you are not more reasonable, we shall reduce you to a village priest."

With the Pope's encouragement the League of Cambray was

formed, in 1508, for the express purpose of destroying one of the most important Italian states. The Empire, France, Spain, and the Pope were to divide among them Venice's possessions on the mainland. Maximilian was anxious to gain the districts bordering upon Austria, and Louis XII to extend the boundaries of his new duchy of Milan; and the Pope and Ferdinand were also to have appropriate shares.

Venice was quickly reduced to a few remnants of its Italian domains; but the Venetians hastened to make their peace with the Pope, who, after receiving their humble submission, gave them his forgiveness. In spite of his previous pledges to his allies the Pope now swore to exterminate the "barbarians" whom he had so recklessly called in. He formed an alliance with Venice and induced the new king of England, Henry VIII, to attack the French king. As for Maximilian, the Pope declared him as "harmless as a newborn babe." This "Holy League" against the French led to their loss of Milan and their expulsion from the Italian peninsula in 1512, but it in no way put an end to the troubles in Italy.[1]

The bellicose Julius was followed in 1513 by Leo X, a son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Like his father, he loved art and literature, but he was apparently utterly without religious feelings. He was willing that the war should continue, in the hope that he might be able to gain a couple of duchies for his nephews.

[1] Machiavelli, in an eloquent passage in *The Prince*, describes Italy as "without head, without order, harassed, despoiled, overcome, overrun with all kinds of calamity. And though formerly some sparks of virtue appeared in some persons which might give her hopes that God had ordained them for her redemption, yet it was found that at the very height of their career and exploits they were checked and forsaken by fortune, and poor Italy was left half dead, awaiting who would be her Samaritan to bind up her wounds, put an end to the sackings and devastation in Lombardy, the taxes and extortions in the kingdom of Naples and in Tuscany, and cure her sores, which length of time had permitted to fester and inflame. It is clear how she prays to God daily to send some person who may deliver her from the cruelty and insolence of the barbarians." And by "barbarians" Machiavelli meant Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Francis I.

Louis XII died in 1515 and left his brilliant cousin and successor, Francis I (1515–1547), to attempt once more to regain Milan. The new king was but twenty years old, gracious in manner, and chivalrous in his ideals of conduct. His proudest title was "the gentleman king." Like his contemporaries Henry VIII of England and Leo X, he patronized art and literature, which flourished during his reign. He was not, however, a wise statesman: he was unable to pursue a consistent policy, but, as Voltaire says, "did everything by fits and starts."

Francis opened his reign by a very astonishing victory. He led his troops into Italy over a pass which had hitherto been regarded as impracticable for cavalry, and defeated the Swiss (who were in the Pope's pay) at Marignano. He then occupied Milan and opened negotiations with Leo X, who was glad to make terms with the victorious young king. The Pope agreed that Francis should retain Milan, and Francis on his part acceded to Leo's plan for turning over Florence once more to the Medici. This was done; and some years later this wonderful republic became the grand duchy of Tuscany, governed by a line of petty princes under whom its former glories were never renewed.[1]

Francis, Charles, and Henry

Friendly relations existed at first between the two young sovereigns Francis I and Charles V, but there were several circumstances which led to an almost incessant series of wars

[1] More important for France than the arrangements mentioned above was the so-called *Concordat*, or agreement, between Francis and the Pope in regard to the selection of the French prelates. Francis was given the privilege of appointing the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and in this way it came about that he and his successors had many rich offices to grant to their courtiers and favorites. He agreed in return that the Pope should receive a part of the first year's revenue from the more important offices in the church of France. The Pope was, moreover, thereafter to be regarded as superior to a council, a doctrine which had been denied by the French monarchs since the Council of Basel (see page 381). The arrangements of the Concordat of 1516 were maintained down to the French Revolution.

between them. France was clamped in between the northern and southern possessions of Charles, and had at that time no natural boundaries. Moreover, there was a standing dispute over portions of the Burgundian realms, for both Charles and Francis claimed the *duchy* of Burgundy and the neighboring *county* of Burgundy (commonly called Franche-Comté). Charles believed also that through his grandfather, Maximilian, he was entitled to Milan, which the French kings had set their hearts upon retaining. For a generation the rivals fought over these and other matters, and the wars between Charles and Francis were but the prelude to a conflict lasting over two centuries between France and the overgrown power of the House of Hapsburg.

In the impending struggle it was natural that both monarchs should try to gain the aid of the king of England, whose friendship was of the greatest importance to each of them, and who was by no means loath to take a hand in European affairs. Henry VIII had succeeded his father (Henry VII) in 1509, at the age of eighteen. Like Francis, he was good-looking and graceful and, in his early years, made a very happy impression upon those who came in contact with him. He gained much popularity by condemning to death the two men who had been most active in extorting the "benevolences" which his father had been wont to require of unwilling givers. With a small but important class his learning brought him credit. He married for his first wife an aunt of Charles V, Catherine of Aragon, and chose as his chief adviser Thomas Wolsey, whose career and sudden downfall were to be strangely associated with the fate of the unfortunate Spanish princess.[1]

In 1520 Charles V started for Germany to receive the imperial crown at Aix-la-Chapelle. On his way he landed in England, with the purpose of keeping Henry from forming an alliance with Francis. He judged the best means to be that of freely bribing Wolsey, who had been made a cardinal by

[1] See page 446.

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[1] See page 446.

Leo X and who was all-powerful with Henry. Charles therefore bestowed on the cardinal a large annuity, in addition to one which he had granted him somewhat earlier (this was the sanctified method of conducting foreign affairs). He then set sail for the Netherlands, where he was duly crowned King of the Romans. From there he proceeded, for the first time, to Germany, where he summoned a diet at Worms. The most important business of the assembly proved to be the consideration of the case of a university professor, Martin Luther, who was accused of writing heretical books, and who had in reality begun what proved to be the first successful revolt against the seemingly all-powerful medieval Church.

CHAPTER XVI

BACKGROUND OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLT

Significance of the Break-up of the Medieval Church

By far the most striking event in the sixteenth century and one of the most momentous in the history of the Western world was the revolt of a considerable portion of northern and western Europe from the medieval Church. There had been but two serious rebellions earlier. The first of these was that of the Albigenses, in southern France, in the thirteenth century; this had been fearfully punished, and the Inquisition had been established to ferret out and bring to trial those who were disloyal to the Church. Then, some two centuries later, the Bohemians, under the inspiration of Wycliffe's writings, had attempted to introduce customs different from those which prevailed elsewhere in the Church. They too had been forced, after a terrific series of conflicts, to accept once more the old system, with only slight modifications.

Finally, however, in spite of the great strength and the wonderful organization of the Church, it became apparent that it was no longer possible to keep all of western Europe under the sway of the Pope. On December 10, 1520, Professor Martin Luther called together the students of the University of Wittenberg, led them outside the town walls, and there burned the constitution and statutes of the medieval Church; that is, the canon law. In this way he publicly proclaimed and illustrated his purpose to repudiate the existing Church with many of its doctrines and practices. Its head he defied by destroying the papal bull directed against his teachings.

Other leaders—in Germany, Switzerland, England, and else-

where—organized separate revolts; certain rulers decided to accept the teachings of the reformers, and used their power to promote the establishment of churches independent of the Pope. In this way western Europe came to be divided into two great religious parties. The majority of its people continued to regard the Pope as their religious head and to accept the institutions under which their forefathers had lived since the time of Theodosius. In general, those regions (except England) which had formed a part of the Roman Empire remained Roman Catholic in their belief. On the other hand, northern Germany, part of Switzerland, Holland, England, Scotland, and the Scandinavian countries sooner or later rejected the headship of the Pope and many of the institutions and doctrines of the medieval Church, and organized new religious institutions. The Protestants, as those who seceded from the Church of Rome were called, by no means agreed among themselves what particular system should replace the old one. They were at one, however, in ceasing to obey the Pope and in proposing to revert to the early Church as their model and to accept the Bible as their sole guide.

The Catholic Church, on the other hand, held that certain important teachings, institutions, and ceremonies, although not expressly mentioned in the Bible, were nevertheless sanctioned by "tradition"; that is, they had been handed down orally from Christ and his apostles as a sacred heritage to the Church and, like the Bible, were to be received as from God.[1]

To revolt against the Church was to inaugurate a fundamental revolution in many of the habits and customs of the people. It was not merely a change of religious belief, for the Church permeated every occupation and dominated every social interest. For centuries it had directed and largely controlled education, high and low. Each and every important act in the home, in the guild, in the town, was accompanied by religious ceremonies. The clergy of the Roman Catholic

[1] See *Readings*, chap. xxiv.

Church had hitherto written most of the books; they sat in the government assemblies and acted as the rulers' most trusted ministers; in short, they constituted, outside of Italy, the only really educated class. Their rôle and the rôle of the Church were incomparably more important than that of any church which exists today.

Just as the medieval Church was by no means an exclusively religious institution, so the Protestant revolt was by no means simply a religious change, but a social and political one as well. The conflicts brought about by the attempt to overthrow this institution or, rather, social order were necessarily terrific. They lasted for more than two centuries and left scarcely any interest, public or private, social or individual, earthly or heavenly, unaffected. Nation rose against nation, kingdom against kingdom; households were divided among themselves; wars and commotion, wrath and desolation, treachery and cruelty, filled the states of western Europe.

How the Earlier Reformers had criticized the Church: Pierre Dubois; Marsiglio of Padua

The usual name for the Protestant revolt is *the* Reformation, but in spite of its importance it was only a phase of the absorbing process by which mankind slowly changes its ideas, habits, and organization. History is largely an account of *reformation*, of one kind or another. It shows how beliefs have come and gone; how new knowledge has discredited former convictions; how new institutions have supplanted earlier ones. Feudalism was a reformation, as was the gradual emergence of the extensive national state under such kings as Henry VIII and Francis I. The incoming of the manor and its later disappearance were reforms, as were the medieval universities, humanism, Gothic architecture, Renaissance art, and the invention of the compass, of lenses, of the printing-press. All these changed human habits in some important respects. Some

changes take place very gradually and are not attributable to anyone in particular; some are due to princes and lawmakers, who are in a position to alter the rules of the game and enforce them; some—perhaps the most important and astonishing—have been caused by those inventions which have opened up hitherto undreamed-of possibilities.

The reformer, however, is usually neither a legislator nor an inventor but one who advocates and urges reform,—often with little success, since he is not uncommonly far ahead of his time. He perceives the deficiencies and absurdities of human relations and scores them in his sayings or writings. He calls attention to old errors and urges people to "repent,"—which originally meant to "change one's mind." The reformer is the spokesman of betterment as he sees it. And he seems to have had no small part in the gradual changes which have overtaken mankind, especially during the past five hundred years. Reformers who have been scorned, maltreated, and even killed by their contemporaries have in some instances been revered and even worshiped by posterity. Giordano Bruno, the first ardent advocate of the Copernican idea of the universe, was burned at Rome in 1600, and in 1900 a monument was erected to him, with the inscription "By the generation which he foresaw."

Reformers are much more common nowadays than ever before, partly because our conditions are changing more rapidly than in the past and hence giving rise to new problems; partly because our knowledge is increasing on a grander scale than in any previous epoch, thus discrediting older beliefs and suggesting new ways of meeting human needs.

There have always been those, here and there, who expressed discontent with existing conditions and who deplored heartlessness, oppression, and dishonesty among those in power, whether in State or Church. But reformers do not confine themselves to mere denunciation and moral exhortation, they recommend changes in existing institutions and beliefs. The

first reformer to suggest a wide-reaching program of highly novel practical reforms was Pierre Dubois, one of the lawyers of Philip the Fair's time. He had followed with great interest the memorable struggle between the French king and Boniface VIII (see pages 254–257) and, like so many later reformers, concluded that no considerable betterment could take place so long as the Church tried to combine its religious functions with vast worldly possessions and power.

When once Dubois began thinking of promising changes, his mind ran from one conspicuous deficiency to another in the conditions which he saw about him. He wrote a number of pamphlets in which he advocated all sorts of improvements. He realized that institutions should be adjusted to altered conditions, and declared that the conservatives, who call upon tradition to justify their rejection of reforms, are instigated by Satan, the father of lies!

As an experienced lawyer, in the practice of both the civil law and the Church law, Dubois deplored the waste of time and money which were the result of long-drawn-out lawsuits; so he wrote a little treatise on how to shorten trials and reduce litigation. He hated the continual warfare which he beheld going on, and proposed a court of international arbitration to settle controversies among independent powers. He recommended that war should be outlawed, and that those who continued to stir up disorder should be starved out—"boycotted," as we should say—by their peaceful neighbors, or else exiled to the Holy Land, where they could expend their warlike energy on the infidels.

He criticized education, which he declared was very inefficient. He wished the girls to be carefully educated, as well as the boys. He advocated better textbooks.

The vast possessions of the clergy he believed caused great harm, since the clergymen, instead of attending to their religious duties, were occupied during a great part of the time with defending their property. So he advocated that the vari-

ous rulers should take over the property of the Church, beginning with the states of the Pope himself.

Dubois was the prophet of reforms some of which have been realized gradually; but he himself was forgotten until the middle of the nineteenth century, when his extraordinary suggestions were brought together and due credit was assigned to him for making them. He looked forward to the time—not yet arrived after the lapse of more than six centuries—when Christian nations should live in peace, no longer fearing war among themselves, and should enjoy a longer life than ever before and be able to devote themselves to the acquisition of knowledge and to the arts of peace. So we find the first "pacifist," crying in the wilderness of warring princes and churchmen.

More important than Pierre Dubois was Marsiglio of Padua, who, with the help of a colleague, issued his *Defender of Peace*, about 1324. Only peace, he urged, could make progress and improvement possible, for peace is the mother of all the higher arts. He believed that in addition to all the old causes of war pointed out by Aristotle, the chief new one which Europe had to face was to be found in the disorder and conflicts due to the vast worldly power and possessions of the Pope and of the clergy in general. He therefore argued for a great reduction of the power of the clergy.

"Church," in its original meaning, he urged, referred to all believers in Christ—all for whom he had shed his blood. "Churchmen" accordingly included all the faithful, whether they happened to be priests and prelates or not. He denied the claims of the Pope to the headship of the Christian believers; for he doubted whether Peter had ever been in Rome, and in no case was there any reason to suppose that he had handed down to succeeding bishops of Rome the right to rule the whole Christian clergy, much less to control the civil government.

Marsiglio claimed that the right of making laws belonged to *the whole body of citizens*; there was no lawgiver superior to

the people themselves. They might be foolish, but they knew their own needs best. Any particular class was bound to be self-seeking, as was shown by the decrees of the popes and clergy, where self-interest was clearly apparent. It might be expedient to have a monarch at the head of the government; but he should be elected, and if he exceeded his powers he should be deposed. The Holy Scriptures should be the sole basis of belief. No one might be forced, according to the Gospel, by any threat of punishment by the government, to accept any particular beliefs. No bishop or priest had any coercive power over anyone, even a heretic.

By way of abolishing what he considered the chief abuses due to the overweening power of the Church, he says:

> The worldly possessions of the Church, except such as are essential for the support of the priests and other ministers of the gospel, for the maintenance of divine service and the relief of the helpless poor, may properly, and according to divine law, be devoted in whole or part by human laws to public need and public defense.

So we have in the *Defender of Peace* a species of program not only for the Protestant revolt, which was to begin about two hundred years later, but also for the French Revolution. Marsiglio, it will be observed, believed in democracy (a sort of limited monarchy), denied the supremacy of the popes, declared all bishops to be on an equal footing, condemned the punishment of heretics, and advocated the taking over of Church lands by the State—what was later called *secularization*. Marsiglio's book was not forgotten, for we find it condemned as a wicked work in the lists of bad books drawn up by the Church authorities after the invention of printing.

Wycliffe and the Lollards

The transfer of the seat of the papacy to Avignon has already been mentioned (pp. 257–259). This seemed to bring the head of the Church under French influence. Such a condi-

tion, together with the heavy papal taxes and the magnificence of the court of Avignon, aroused indignation and harsh criticism. The most famous and conspicuous critic of the Pope and the policy of the Roman Church was the Englishman John Wycliffe, a teacher at Oxford. He was born about the time Marsiglio was preparing his great work. His interests proved, however, to be much more religious and less purely political and social than those expressed in the *Defender of Peace*. He first emerges distinctly in 1366, when the Avignon pope, Urban V, was so unwise as to demand that the English should pay up the tribute pledged by King John when, long before, he had become the Pope's vassal (see page 210). England was at war with France, and Parliament bluntly denied any right on John's part to bind the English people to any such agreement without their consent. Wycliffe began his public career of opposition to the papacy by trying to prove that John's compact was void. About ten years later we find the Pope issuing bulls against the teachings of Wycliffe, who had begun to assert that the State might appropriate the property of the Church if this property was misused, and that the Pope had no authority except as he acted according to the Gospels. Soon Wycliffe went farther and boldly attacked the papacy itself, as well as indulgences, pilgrimages, and the worship of the saints; finally, he even denied the truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

He did not, however, confine his work to a denunciation of what he considered wrong in the teaching and conduct of the churchmen. He established an order of "simple priests" who were to go about doing good and reprove by their example the worldly habits of the general run of priests and monks.

Wycliffe's anxiety to reach the people and foster a higher spiritual life among them led him to have the Bible translated into English. He prepared also a great number of sermons and tracts in English.[1] He is the father of English prose, and

[1] See page 284. For extracts see *Readings*, chap. xxi.

it has been well said that "the exquisite pathos, the keen, delicate irony, and the manly passion of his short, nervous sentences, fairly overmaster the weakness of the unformed language and give us English which cannot be read without a feeling of its beauty to this hour."

Wycliffe and his "simple priests" were charged with fomenting the discontent which culminated in the Peasants' War (see pages 264–267). Whether this charge was true or not, it caused many of his more aristocratic followers to fall away from him. But in spite of this and the denunciations of the Church, Wycliffe was not seriously interfered with, and he died peaceably in 1384. While his followers (called Lollards) appear to have yielded pretty readily to the persecution which soon overtook them, his doctrines were spread abroad in Bohemia by another ardent reformer, John Huss, who was destined to give the Church a great deal of trouble. Wycliffe is remarkable as being the first distinguished English scholar and reformer to repudiate the headship of the Pope and those practices of the Church of Rome which a hundred and fifty years after his death were attacked by Luther in his successful revolt against the medieval Church.

The Great Schism and the Revival of Church Councils

In 1377 Pope Gregory XI had moved back again to Rome, after the popes had been exiles for seventy years, during which much had happened to undermine the papal power and supremacy. Yet the discredit into which the papacy had fallen during its stay at Avignon was as nothing compared with the disasters which befell it after the return to Rome.

Gregory died the year after his return, and the cardinals assembled to choose his successor. A great part of them were French. They had found Rome in a sad state of ruin and disorder and sorely missed the gay life and the comforts and luxuries of Avignon. They determined therefore to select a

pope who would take them back to the banks of the Rhone. While they were deliberating, the Roman populace was yelling outside the conclave and demanding that a Roman be chosen, or at least an Italian. A simple Italian monk was accordingly selected (1378), Urban VI, who it was supposed would agree to the wishes of the cardinals.

The new pope, however, soon showed that he had no idea of returning to Avignon. He treated the cardinals with harshness and proposed a stern reformation of their habits. The cardinals speedily wearied of this treatment; they retired to the neighboring Anagni and declared that they had been frightened by the Roman mob into selecting the obnoxious Urban. They then elected a new pope, who took the title of Clement VII and proceeded to reëstablish the papal court at Avignon. Urban, although deserted by his cardinals, had no intention of yielding, and proceeded to create twenty-eight new cardinals.

This double election was the beginning of the *Great Schism*, which was to last for forty years and to expose the papacy to new attacks on every side. There had been many antipopes in earlier centuries, set up usually by the emperors; but there had ordinarily been little question as to who was really the legitimate pope. In the present case Europe was seriously in doubt, for it was difficult to decide whether the election of Urban had really been forced and was consequently invalid, as the cardinals claimed. No one, therefore, could be perfectly sure which of the rival popes was the real successor of St. Peter. There were now two colleges of cardinals, whose very existence depended upon the exercise of their right of choosing the Pope. It was natural that Italy should support Urban VI; France as naturally obeyed Clement VII; England, hostile to France, accepted Urban; Scotland, hostile to England, supported Clement.

Each of two men, with seemingly equal right, now claimed to be Christ's vicar on earth; each proposed to enjoy to the full

the vast prerogatives of the head of Christendom; each denounced and attempted to depose the other. The schism in the headship of the Church naturally extended to the bishoprics and abbeys; and everywhere there were rival prelates, each of whom could claim that he had been duly confirmed by one pope or the other. All this produced an unprecedented scandal in the Church. It emphasized all the abuses among the clergy and gave free rein to those who were inclined to denounce the many evils which had been pointed out by Wycliffe and his followers. The condition was, in fact, intolerable and gave rise to widespread discussion not only of the means by which the schism might be healed but of the nature and justification of the papacy itself. The discussion which arose during these forty years of uncertainty did much to prepare the mind of western Europe for the Protestant revolt in the sixteenth century.

The selfish and futile negotiations between the colleges of cardinals and the popes justified the notion that there might perhaps be a power in Christendom superior even to that of the Pope. Might not a council, representing all Christendom and inspired by the Holy Ghost, judge even a pope? Such councils had been held in the East during the later Roman Empire, beginning with the first general, or "ecumenical," council, that of Nicæa, under Constantine. They had established the teachings of the Church and had legislated for all Christian people and clergy.[1]

As early as 1381 the University of Paris advocated the summoning of a general council which should adjust the claims of the rival popes and give Christendom once more a single head. This raised the question whether a council was really superior to the Pope or not. Those who believed that it was, main-

[1] The eighth and last of these Eastern councils, which were regarded by the Roman Church as having represented all Christendom, occurred in Constantinople in 869. In 1123 the first Council of the Lateran assembled, and since that five or six Christian congresses had been convoked in the West. But these, unlike the earlier ones, were regarded as merely ratifying the wishes of the Pope, who completely dominated the assembly, publishing its decrees in his own name.

tained that the Church at large had deputed the election of the Pope to the cardinals, and that it might therefore interfere when the cardinals had brought the papacy into disrepute; that a general assembly of all Christendom, speaking under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, was a higher authority than even the successor of St. Peter. Others strenuously denied this. They claimed that the Pope received his authority over the Church *directly* from Christ, and that he had always possessed supreme power from the very first, although he had not always exercised it and had permitted the earlier councils a certain freedom. No council, they urged, could be considered a general one which was called against the will of the Pope, because, without the bishop of the Roman church (or mother church), the council obviously could not lay claim to represent *all* Christendom. The defenders of the papal power maintained, moreover, that the Pope was the supreme legislator, that he might change or annul the act of any council or of a previous pope, and that he might judge others, but might not himself be judged by anyone.[1]

After years of discussion and fruitless negotiations between the rival popes and their cardinals, members of both the colleges decided in 1409 to summon at Pisa a council which should put an end to the schism. While large numbers of churchmen answered the summons and the various monarchs took an active interest in the council, its action was hasty and ill advised. Gregory XII, the Roman pope, elected in 1406, and Benedict XIII, the Avignon pope, elected in 1394, were solemnly summoned from the doors of the cathedral at Pisa. As they failed to appear, they were condemned for contumacy and deposed. A new pope was then elected; and on his death a year later, he was succeeded by the notorious John XXIII, who had been a soldier of fortune in his earlier days. John was selected on account of his supposed military prowess. This was considered essential in order to guard the papal territory

[1] See pages 194–195.

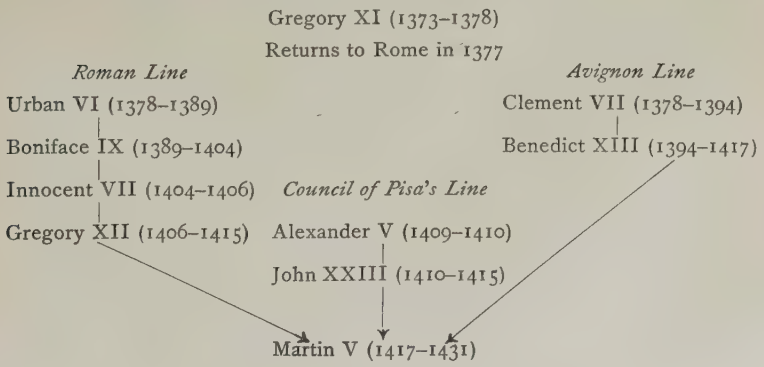
against the king of Naples, who had announced his intention of getting possession of Rome. Neither of the deposed popes yielded; and as they each continued to enjoy a certain support, the Council of Pisa, instead of healing the schism, added a third person who claimed to be the supreme ruler of Christendom.[1]

The Council of Constance; John Huss

The failure of the Council of Pisa made it necessary to summon another congress of Christendom. Through the influence of the emperor Sigismund, John XXIII reluctantly agreed that the council should be held in Germany, in the imperial town of Constance. The Council of Constance, which began to assemble in the fall of 1414, is one of the most noteworthy international assemblies ever held. It lasted for over three years and excited the deepest interest throughout Europe. There were in attendance, besides the Pope and the Emperor-elect, twenty-three cardinals, thirty-three archbishops and bishops, one hundred and fifty abbots, and one hundred dukes and earls, as well as hundreds of lesser personages.

Three great tasks confronted the council: (1) the healing of the schism, which involved the disposal of the three existing popes and the selection of a single universally acknowledged

[1] The popes during the Great Schism:



head of the Church; (2) the extirpation of heresy, which, under the influence of John Huss, was threatening the authority of the Church in Bohemia; (3) a general reformation of the Church "in head and members."

1. The healing of the long schism was the most important of the council's achievements. John XXIII was very uncomfortable in Constance. He feared not only that he would be forced to resign, but also that there might be an investigation of his very dubious past. In March he fled in disguise from Constance, leaving his cardinals behind him. The council was dismayed at the Pope's departure, for it feared that he would dissolve it as soon as he was out of its control. It thereupon issued a famous decree (April 6, 1415) declaring its superiority to the Pope. It claimed that a general council had its power immediately from Christ. Everyone, even the Pope, who should refuse to obey its decrees or instructions should be suitably punished.

A long list of terrible crimes of which John was suspected was drawn up, and he was formally deposed. He received but little encouragement in his opposition to the council and soon surrendered unconditionally. Gregory XII, the Roman pope, showed himself amenable to reason and relieved the perplexity of the council by resigning in July. The third pope, the obstinate Benedict XIII, flatly refused to resign. But the council induced the Spaniards, who were his only remaining supporters, to desert him and to send envoys to Constance. Benedict was then deposed (July, 1417), and in the following November the cardinals who were at the council were permitted to elect a new pope, Martin V, and so the Great Schism was brought to an end.

2. During the first year of its sessions the Council of Constance was attempting to stamp out heresy as well as to heal the schism. The marriage of an English king, Richard II, to a Bohemian princess shortly before Wycliffe's death had encouraged some intercourse between Bohemia and England and had

brought the works of the English reformer to the attention of those in Bohemia who were intent upon the improvement of the Church. Among the most conspicuous of those suspected of heresy was John Huss (b. about 1369), whose ardent devotion to the interests of the Bohemian nation and enthusiasm for reform secured for him great influence in the University of Prague, with which he was connected.

Huss, influenced by the writings of Wycliffe, reached the conclusion that Christians should not be forced to obey those who were living in mortal sin and were apparently destined never to reach heaven themselves. This view was naturally denounced by the Church as a most dangerous error, destructive of all order and authority. As his opponents urged, the regularly appointed authorities must be obeyed, not because they are good men but because they govern in virtue of the powers conferred upon them as representatives of the law. In short, Huss appeared not only to defend the heresies of Wycliffe but at the same time to preach a doctrine dangerous alike to the power of the civil government and to that of the Church.

Huss felt confident that he could convince the council of the truth of his views and willingly appeared at Constance. He was provided with a "safe-conduct," a document in which Emperor Sigismund ordered that no one should do him any violence, and which permitted the bearer to leave Constance whenever he wished. In spite of this he was speedily arrested and imprisoned, in December, 1414. His treatment well illustrates the medieval attitude toward heresy. When Sigismund indignantly protested against the violation of his safe-conduct, he was informed that the law did not recognize faith pledged to suspected heretics, for they were out of the king's jurisdiction. The council declared that no pledge which was prejudicial to the Catholic faith was to be observed. In judging Sigismund's failure to enforce his promise of protection to Huss it must be remembered that heresy was at that time considered a far more terrible crime than murder, and that it was the opinion

of the most authoritative body in Christendom that Sigismund would do a great wrong if he prevented the trial of Huss.

Huss was treated in what would seem to us a very harsh way, but from the standpoint of the council he was given every advantage. By special favor he was granted a public hearing. The council was anxious that Huss should retract, but no form of retraction could be arranged to which he would agree. The council, in accordance with the usages of the time, demanded that he should recognize the error of all the propositions which they had selected from his writings, that he should retract them and never again preach them, and that he should agree to preach the contrary. The council did not consider it its business to decide whether Huss was right or wrong, but simply whether his doctrines, which they gathered from his books, were in accordance with the traditional views of the Church.

Finally the council condemned Huss as a convicted and impenitent heretic. On July 6, 1415, he was taken out before the gates of the city and given one more chance to retract. As he refused, he was degraded from the priesthood and handed over to the civil government to be executed for heresy, which, as we have seen, the State regarded as a crime and undertook to punish.[1] The civil authorities made no further investigation, but accepted the verdict of the council and burned Huss upon the spot. His ashes were thrown into the Rhine lest they should become an object of veneration among his followers.

The death of Huss rather promoted than checked the spread of heresy in Bohemia. A few years later the Germans undertook a series of ineffective crusades against the Bohemians. This increased the national animosity between the two races, which never died out and which led, in our own time, after the World War, to the creation of a separate national state, Czechoslovakia.

3. The third great task of the Council of Constance was the general reformation of the Church. After John's flight it had

[1] See pages 243–245.

claimed the right (in the decree *Sacrosancta*) to reform even the papacy. This was a splendid opportunity at least to mitigate the abuses in the Church. The council was a great representative body, and everyone was looking to it to remedy the old evils, which had become more pronounced than ever during the Great Schism. Many pamphlets were published at the time by earnest men, denouncing the corrupt practices of the clergy. The evils were of long standing and have all been described in earlier chapters.

Although everyone recognized the abuses, the council found itself unable to remedy them or to accomplish the hoped-for reformation. After three years of fruitless deliberations the members of the assembly became weary and hopeless. They finally contented themselves with passing a decree (October 9, 1417) declaring that the neglect to summon general councils in the past had fostered all the evils in the Church, and that thereafter councils should be regularly summoned at least every ten years.[1] In this way it was hoped that the absolute power of the popes might be checked in somewhat the same way as the Parliament in England controlled the monarch.

The Revival of the Papal Power

This idea of a great Church parliament which should assemble with regularity and limit the powers of the Pope was never realized. The long wars with the Bohemian heretics finally led to the calling of a great council at Basel in 1431. Here a peace was patched up with the more moderate Hussites, who did not differ much from other Catholics. The council then entered into a long struggle with the Pope and finally deposed him. The Pope thereupon dissolved the Council of Basel, which after years of fruitless discussions finally melted away; this seemed to prove the weakness of any Church congress that tried to get along without the papal coöperation.

[1] See *Readings*, chap. xxi, sect. v.

The Pope summoned a new council under his particular and unmistakable auspices, which met in Ferrara in 1438 and later was moved to Florence. This assembly had to face a new and vital issue, that of consolidating the Eastern and Western churches. The Eastern Empire was seriously threatened by the oncoming Ottoman Turks, who had made conquests even west of Constantinople. The Eastern Emperor's advisers urged that if a reconciliation could be arranged with the Western Church, the Pope might use his influence to supply arms and soldiers to be used against the Mohammedans. When the representatives of the Eastern Church met with the Council of Ferrara, the differences in doctrine were found to be few, but the question of the headship of the Church was a most difficult one. How were the claims to supremacy long maintained by the Pope, on the one hand, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, on the other, to be reconciled? A form of union was, nevertheless, agreed upon in which the Eastern Church accepted the headship of the Pope, "saving the privileges and rights of the patriarchs of the East."

While Pope Eugenius IV received the credit for healing the breach between the East and the West, the Greek prelates, upon returning home, were hailed with indignation and branded as robbers and matricides for the concessions which they had made. The chief results of the council were (1) the advantage gained by the Pope in once more becoming the recognized head of Christendom in spite of the opposition of the Council of Basel, and (2) the fact that certain learned Greeks remained in Italy and helped to stimulate the growing enthusiasm for Greek literature. Among these Chrysoloras, mentioned earlier (see pages 322–323), was the most conspicuous.

No more councils were held during the fifteenth century, and the popes were left to the task of reorganizing their dominions in Italy. They began to turn their attention very largely to their interests as Italian princes, and some of them, beginning with Nicholas V (1447–1455), became the patrons

of artists and men of letters. There is probably no period in the history of the papacy when the head of the Church was more completely absorbed in forwarding his political interests and those of his relatives, and in decorating his capital, than in the seventy years which elapsed between 1450 and the beginning of the German revolt against the Church.

It will be noted that there were many kinds of reformers who were dissatisfied with existing conditions and practices but who differed greatly in their ideas of the proper remedies. Those who assembled at Constance and Basel were mainly *churchmen*, pledged to the orthodox doctrines but anxious to limit somewhat the powers of the Pope, especially in the matter of filling Church offices, the imposition of taxes, the collection of fees, and the trial of Church cases. They also wanted to make prelates and priests more conscientious in the performance of their duties. But this group had no idea of doing away with the Pope's headship or of modifying the fundamental beliefs which had been handed down to them. They held in horror the suggestions of Marsiglio of Padua, of Wycliffe, and of Huss. The Council of Constance, which had turned Huss over to be burned, as well as his sympathizer Jerome of Prague, ordered the body of Wycliffe to be dug up and cast out of consecrated ground.

The complicated nature of the process by which certain rulers were finally encouraged to make a definite break with the past by throwing off their allegiance to the Pope and ratifying important changes in old beliefs and practices is best illustrated by what went on in Germany and led up to the first permanent disruption of the medieval Church. While the conditions in Germany were peculiar, they repay study, for they introduce us to various personages and tendencies that were important in the origin of Protestantism; so in the attention here given to Germany the real aim is to understand better the general history of western Europe.

Germany before Luther's Revolt

Germany means to us the German Empire, which, before the terrible World War, had for a couple of generations been one of the three or four best-organized and most powerful of the European states. After the consolidation of 1866 and 1871 (to be described in due time) it had become a compact federation, made up of twenty-two monarchies—of which Prussia was far the most important—and of three surviving little city-republics. Its capital was and is Berlin, a place of no importance in Luther's time. In his day there was no such Germany as this, but only what the French called "the Germanies"; that is, two or three hundred states, which differed greatly from one another in size and character. One had a duke at its head, another a count, and some were ruled over by archbishops, bishops, or abbots. There were many cities, such as Nuremberg, Augsburg, Frankfurt, and Cologne, which were just as independent as the great duchies of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Saxony. Lastly there were the knights, whose possessions might consist of no more than a single strong castle with a wretched village lying at its foot. Their trifling territories must, however, be called states; for some of the knights were, in theory, as sovereign and independent as the elector of Brandenburg, who was one day to become the king of Prussia and, long after, the emperor of Germany.

As for the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, he had no power to control his vassals. He could boast of unlimited pretensions and a great past, but he had neither money nor soldiers. At the time of Luther's birth the poverty-stricken Frederick III might have been seen picking up a free meal at a monastery or riding behind a slow but economical ox team. The real power in Germany lay in the hands of the more important vassals. First and foremost among these were the seven *electors*, so called because since the thirteenth century they had enjoyed the right to elect the Emperor. Three of

them were archbishops—kings, in all but name, of considerable territories on the Rhine; namely, of the electorates of Mainz, Trèves, and Cologne.[1] Near them, to the south, was the region ruled over by the elector of the Palatinate; to the northeast were the territories of the electors of Brandenburg and of Saxony; the king of Bohemia made the seventh of the group. Beside these states, the dominions of other rulers, scarcely less important than the electors, appear on the map. Some of these territories, like Württemberg, Bavaria, Hesse, and Baden, are familiar to us today as parts of the present German republic, but all of them have been much enlarged since the sixteenth century by the absorption of the little states that formerly lay within and about them.[2]

The towns, which had grown up during the great economic revolution that had brought in commerce and the use of money in the thirteenth century, were centers of culture in the north of Europe, just as those of Italy were in the south. Nuremberg, the most beautiful of the older German cities, still possesses a great part of the extraordinary buildings and works of art which it produced in the sixteenth century. Some of the towns held directly of the Emperor and were consequently independent of the particular prince within whose territory they were situated. These were called *free*, or *imperial*, cities and must be reckoned among the states of Germany.

The knights, who ruled over the smallest of the German territories, had once formed an important military class, but the invention of gunpowder and of new methods of fighting had made their individual prowess of little avail. As their tiny realms were often too small to support them, they frequently turned to out-and-out robbery for a living. They hated the cities because the prosperous burghers were able to live in a

[1] For the origin of these and of the other ecclesiastical states of Germany see pages 184–187.

[2] The manner in which the numerous and often important ecclesiastical states all disappeared in Napoleon's time will become clear later.

luxurious comfort which the poor knights envied but could not imitate. They hated the princes because these were anxious to incorporate into their own territories the inconvenient little districts controlled by the knights, many of whom, like the free cities, held directly of the Emperor and were consequently practically independent.

It would be no easy task to make a map of Germany in the time of Charles V sufficiently detailed to show all the states and scattered fragments of states. If, for example, the accompanying map were much larger and indicated all the divisions, it would be seen that the territory of the city of Ulm completely surrounded the microscopic possessions of a certain knight, the lord of Eybach, and two districts belonging to the abbot of Elchingen. On its borders lay the territories of four knights—the lords of Rechberg, Stotzingen, Erbach, and Wiesensteig—and of the abbots of Söflingen and Wiblingen, besides portions of Württemberg and outlying Austrian possessions. The main cause of this bewildering subdivision of Germany was the habit of dealing with a principality as if it were merely private property which might be divided up among several children, or disposed of piecemeal, quite regardless of the wishes of the inhabitants.

The Attempts to reform German Conditions

It is clear that these states, big and little, all tangled up with one another, would be sure to have disputes among themselves which would have to be settled in some way. It would appear to have been absolutely necessary under the circumstances that there should be some superior court or judge to adjust differences between the many members of the Empire, as well as a military or police force to carry out the will of the tribunal, should one of the parties concerned resist its decrees. But although there was an imperial court, this followed the Emperor about, and was therefore hard to get at. Moreover, even if a decision was obtained from it, there was no way for

GERMANY
ABOUT 1550
Boundary of Empire
Hapsburg Territories
Hohenzollern Territories
Ecclesiastical Territories
Imperial Cities
0 10 20 30 40 50 100
Scale of Miles.
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
NORTH SEA
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Brussels
Antwerp
Flanders
Artois
Hainault
Luxemburg
Lorraine
Burgundy
Duchy of Cleves
Duchy of Berg
Duchy of Julliers
Duchy of Gelderland
Duchy of Brabant
Duchy of Limburg
Duchy of Luxemburg
Duchy of Lorraine
Duchy of Burgundy
Bishop of Münster
Bishop of Paderborn
Bishop of Liege
Bishop of Metz
Bishop of Toul
Bishop of Verdun
Bishop of Basel
Bishop of Besancon
Electoral Palatinate
Archbishop of Frankfurt
Archbishop of Mayence
Archbishop of Cologne
Archbishop of Treves
Swiss Confederation
Paris
Reims
Chalons
Soissons
Amiens
St. Quentin
Metz
Toul
Verdun
Strasburg
Besancon
Dijon
Bern
Basel
Lausanne
L. of Geneva
Cologne
Frankfurt
Mayence
Treves
Liege
Brussels
Antwerp
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Hague
Leyden
Utrecht
Arnhem
Nymegen
Deventer
Zwolle
Groningen
Münster
Bremen
Paderborn
Dortmund
Soest
Duisburg
Ruhr
Aix la Chapelle
Maestricht
Namur
Mons
Valenciennes
Arras
Cambrai
Lille
Ypres
Ostend
Bruges
Ghent
Malines
Louvain
Turnhout
Gravelines
Dunkirk
Calais
Boulogne
Flushing
Tholen
Breda
Grave
Cleves
Wesel
Duisburg
Dusseldorf
Ruhr
Lippe
Soest
Paderborn
Bonn
Coblenz
Nassau
Wetzlar
Worms
Heidelberg
Spires
Landau
Landstuhl
Zweibrücken
Hagenau
Baden
Wurtemberg
Strasburg
Breisgau
Freyburg
Schaffhausen
Constance
Zurich
Lucerne
Neufchatel
Freiburg
Vesoul
Belfort
Upper Alsatia
Montbeliard
Dole
Joinville
Bar
Langres
Verdun
Metz
Thionville
Sedan
Bouillon
Luxemburg
Longwy
Trevers
Ebernburg
Simmern
Creutznach
Kaiserslautern
Deux Ponts
Neustadt
Manheim
Heidelberg
Darmstadt
Fulda
Hesse Cassel
Paderborn
Minden
Osnabrück
Oldenburg
Emden
East Friesland
Groningen
Friesland
Franeker
Leeuwarden
Harlingen
Alkmaar
Haarlem
Enkhuizen
Holland
Zeeland
Middelburg
Bergen op Zoom
Breda
Gertruydenberg
Boisleduc
Nimeguen
Cleves
Wesel
Duisburg
Dusseldorf
Ruhr
Lippe
Soest
Paderborn
Dortmund
Limburg
Westphalia
Cologne

12
14
16
18
52
50
48
Duchy of Mecklenburg
Stettin
Pomerania
Uckermark
Count Ruppin
Margraviate of Neumark
R. Oder
R. Netze
R. Vistula
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Obornik
R. Warta
Posen
Meseritz
Frankfurt
Brandenburg
Berlin
R. Spree
Altmark
Brandenburg
Mittelmark
Arch. of Magdeburg
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Wittenberg
Lower Lusatia
Guben
Frauenstadt
Glogau
Duchy of Sagan
R. Bober
Prin. of Liegnitz
Liegnitz
Breslau
Schweidnitz
Brieg
Prin. of Brieg
Duchy of Silesia
Mansfeld
Eisleben
Halle
Merseburg
Torgau
Mühlberg
Leipzig
Merseburg
Mülhausen
Electorate of Saxony
Naumburg
Meissen
Dresden
Chemnitz
Zwickau
Upper Lusatia
Görlitz
Zittau
Gotha
Weimar
Jena
Duchy of Mayence
Saale
Cy. Reuss
Plauen
Adorf
R. Eger
KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA
Prague
Czaslau
Sazawa
R. Elbe
County of Glatz
Glatz
R. Oder
Saxony
Königsberg
Bayreuth
Eger
Bayreuth
Upper Palatinate
Bamberg
Nuremburg
Altdorf
Ansbach
Schwabach
R. Beraun
Pilsen
R. Moldau
Tabor
Margraviate of Moravia
Olmütz
Brünn
R. March
Ratisbon
Naab
Bishopc. Eichstädt
Ingolstadt
Neuburg
Donauwörth
Augsburg
Burgau
Duchy of Bavaria
Landau
Altdorf
Landshut
R. Danube
Bishopc. of Passau
Passau
Budweis
Znaim
R. Thaya
Arch. of Austria
Pressburg
R. Danube
Vienna
Linz
Enns
Munich
R. Lech
R. Isar
Salzach
Salzburg
Berchtesgaden
Wiener Neustadt
Kempten
Ehrenberger Pass
Hall
Innsbruck
Brenner
County of Tyrol
Brixen
(Bishopc.)
Tyrol
Adige R.
Arch. of Salzburg
R. Pinzgau
Gastein
Duchy of Carinthia
R. Drava
Lienz
Klagenfurt
Villach
VENICE
Duchy of Styria
Leoben
Bruck
Graz
To Salzburg
To Bamberg
Radkersburg
R. Mur
Raab R.
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
Balaton Lake

the aggrieved party to secure the execution of the judgment, for the Emperor had no force sufficient to coerce the larger states. The natural result was a resort to self-help. Neighborhood war was permitted by law if only some courteous preliminaries were observed. For instance, a prince or a town was required to give warning three days in advance before attacking another member of the Empire.[1]

Toward the end of the fifteenth century the terrible disorder and uncertainty which resulted from the absence of a strong central government led to serious efforts upon the part of the *diet*, or national assembly, to remedy the evils. It was proposed to establish a court to settle all disputes which should arise among the rulers of the various states. This was to be held permanently in some convenient place. The Empire was also to be divided into districts, or "circles" (*Kreise*), in each of which a military force was to be organized and maintained to carry out the law and the decisions of the court. Little was accomplished, however, for some years, although the diet met more frequently and regularly, and this gave an opportunity to discuss public questions. The towns began to send delegates to the diet in 1487, but the restless knights and some of the other minor nobles had no part in the deliberations and did not always feel that the decisions of the assembly were binding upon them. Of the diets which met almost every year during the Lutheran period in some one of the great German cities, we shall hear more later.

The diets were perennially agitated over the question of reforming the practices of the Church, and they often drew up long lists of grievances—*gravamina*, as they called them. From these protests we learn much of the nature of the current discontent. The diets were always looking back to the reforms proposed at the councils of Constance and Basel. As

[1] In 1467 the German diet ventured to forbid neighborhood war—the curse of the Middle Ages—for five years. It was not permanently prohibited, however, until a generation later.

one considers these imposing lists of abuses and demands for betterment, formulated by the German diets, which tended to become more and more outspoken as time went on, the success of the Protestant revolt becomes more and more natural.

It is inevitable that Protestant and Catholic writers should differ in their views of Germany at this period. Among Protestants there has always been a tendency to see the dark side of affairs during this epoch, for this exalted the work of Luther and made him appear the savior of his people. On the other hand, the Catholic historians have devoted years of research to an attempt to prove that conditions were, on the whole, happy and serene and full of hope for the future before Luther and the other revolutionary leaders brought division and ruin upon the fatherland by attacking the Church.

As a matter of fact, the life and thought of Germany during the fifty years preceding the opening of the Protestant revolt present all sorts of contradictions and anomalies. The period was one of marked progress. The people were eager to learn, and they rejoiced in the recent invention of printing, which brought them the new learning from Italy and hints of another world beyond the seas. Foreigners who visited Germany were astonished at the prosperity, wealth, and luxury of the rich merchants, who often spent their money in the encouragement of art and literature and in the founding of schools and libraries.

On the other hand, there was great ill feeling between the various classes—the petty princes, the townspeople, the knights, and the peasants. It was generally believed by the other classes that the wealth of the merchants could be accounted for only by deceit, usury, and sharp dealing. Never was begging more prevalent, superstition more rife, vulgarity and coarseness more apparent. Attempts to reform the government and stop neighborhood war met with little success. Moreover, the Turks, after conquering Constantinople in 1453, were advancing steadily upon Christendom. The people were com-

manded by the Pope to send up a prayer each day as the noon bell rang, that God might deliver them from the oncoming infidel.

Yet we need not be astonished by these contradictions, for history makes plain that all periods of rapid change are full of them. Any newspaper will show how true this is today: we are, as a nation, good and bad, rich and poor, peaceful and warlike, learned and ignorant, satisfied and discontented, civilized and barbarous, all at once.

The Exaggerated Attention to Religious Practices

In considering the condition of the Church and of religion in Germany four things are particularly important as explaining the origin and character of the Protestant revolt.[1] First, there was an extraordinary enthusiasm for all the pomp and ceremony of the old religion, and a great confidence in pilgrimages, relics, miracles, and all those things which the Protestants were soon to discard. Secondly, there was a tendency to read the Bible and to dwell upon the attitude of the sinner toward God, rather than upon the external acts of religion. Thirdly, there was a conviction, especially among scholars, that the theologians had made religion needlessly complicated with

[1] The so-called "causes" of the Protestant revolt are necessarily presented here very briefly indeed—and inadequately. It was the outcome of many conditions which cannot be easily or very confidently stated. Those who have written about the Protestant secession from the old Church have not uncommonly been clergymen who emphasized the religious reasons and neglected the others. My friend Professor Preserved Smith, who has kindly gone over the following chapters, thinks that "most important in explaining the Protestant revolt were the following: (1) the rise of individualism, (2) the growth of a more worldly culture, (3) the rise of a more monistic conception of religion, (4) the rise of national claims, clashing with those of the Church." He has admirably set forth this matter in his remarkable *Age of the Reformation* (introductory chapter), which is the result of years of careful study. Mr. Henry C. Lea, an American scholar of great distinction, believed that the causes of the Protestant revolt were largely *economic* and only secondarily *religious*. See the final chapter, by Lea, in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I; also, from a Roman Catholic standpoint, Pastor's *History of the Popes*, especially Vol. IV, and Janssen's *History of the German People*.

their fine-spun logical distinctions. And lastly, there was the old and very general belief that the Italian prelates, including the Pope, were always inventing new plans for getting money out of the Germans, whom they regarded as a stupid people, easily hoodwinked. These four matters we shall consider in turn.

Never had the many ceremonies and observances of the medieval Church attracted more attention or been carried out on a more prodigious scale than during the latter part of the fifteenth century and the opening years of the sixteenth. It seemed as if all Germany agreed to join in one last celebration of the old religion, unprecedented in magnificence, before its people divided into two irreconcilable parties. Great numbers of new churches were erected, and adorned with the richest productions of German art. Tens of thousands of pilgrims flocked to the various sacred places, and gorgeous ecclesiastical processions moved through the streets of the prosperous imperial towns.

The princes rivaled each other in collecting the relics of saints, which were venerated as an aid to salvation. The elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, who was later to become Luther's protector, had accumulated no less than five thousand of these sacred objects. In a catalogue of them we find the rod of Moses, a bit of the burning bush, thread spun by the Virgin, etc. The elector of Mainz possessed an even larger collection, which included forty-two whole bodies of saints and some of the earth from a field near Damascus out of which God was supposed to have created man.

It was the teaching of the Church that prayers, fasts, masses, pilgrimages, and other "good works" might be accumulated and form a treasury of spiritual goods. Those who were wanting in good deeds might therefore have their deficiencies offset by the inexhaustible surplus of righteous deeds which had been created by the superabundant merits of Christ and the saints.

The idea was certainly a beautiful one: that Christians

should thus be able to help one another by their good works, and that the strong and faithful worshiper could aid the weak and indifferent. Yet the thoughtful teachers in the Church realized that the doctrine of the treasury of good works might be gravely misunderstood; and there was certainly a strong inclination among the people to believe that God might be propitiated by various outward acts—attendance at Church ceremonies, the giving of alms, the veneration of relics, the making of pilgrimages, etc. It was clear that the hope of profiting by the good works of others might lead to the neglect of the true welfare of the soul.

But in spite of the popular confidence in outward acts and ceremonies, from which the heart was often absent, there were many signs of a general longing for deeper and more spiritual religion than that of which we have been speaking. The new art of printing was used to increase the number of religious manuals. These all emphasized the uselessness of outward acts without true contrition and sorrow for sin, and urged the sinner to rely upon the love and forgiveness of God.

All good Christians were urged, moreover, to read the Bible, of which there were a number of editions in German, besides little books in which portions of the New Testament were given. There are many indications that the Bible was commonly read before Luther's time.[1]

It was natural, therefore, that the German people should take a great interest in the new and better translation of the Scriptures which Luther prepared. Preaching had also become common before the Protestants appeared. Some towns even engaged special preachers of known eloquence to address their citizens regularly.

[1] For example, the Catholic historian Janssen points out that in one of the books of instruction for the priest we find that he is warned, when he quotes the Bible, to say to the people that he is not translating it word for word from the Latin, for otherwise they are likely to go home and find a different wording from his in their particular version and then declare that the priest had made a mistake.

These facts would seem to justify the conclusion that there were many before Luther appeared who were approaching the ideas of religion which later appealed especially to the Protestants. The insistence of the Protestants upon salvation through faith alone in God, their suspicion of ceremonies and "good works," their exclusive reliance upon the Bible, and the stress they laid upon preaching,—all these were to be found in Germany and elsewhere before Luther began to preach.

The Letters of Obscure Men

Among the critics of the churchmen, monks, and theologians, none were more conspicuous than the humanists. The Renaissance in Italy, which may be said to have begun with Petrarch and his library, has already been described. The Petrarch of Germany was Rudolphus Agricola (1443–1485), who, while not absolutely the first German to dedicate himself to classical studies, was the first who by his charming personality and varied accomplishments stimulated others, as Petrarch had done, to carry on the pursuits which he himself so much enjoyed. Unlike most of the Italian humanists, however, Agricola and his followers were interested in the language of the people, as well as in Latin and Greek, and proposed that the works of antiquity should be translated into German. Moreover, the German humanists were generally far more serious and devout than the Italian scholars.

As the humanists increased in numbers and confidence they began to criticize the excessive attention given in the German universities[1] to logic and the scholastic theology. These studies had lost their earlier vitality and had degenerated into fruitless disputations. The bad Latin which the professors used themselves and taught their students, and the preference

[1] Some seventeen universities had been established by German rulers and towns in a little over one hundred years. The oldest of them was founded in 1348 at Prague. Several of these institutions—for example, Leipzig, Vienna, and Heidelberg—are still ranked among the leading universities of the world.

still given to Aristotle over all other ancient writers, disgusted the humanists. They therefore undertook to prepare new and better textbooks, and proposed that the study of the Greek and Roman poets and orators should be introduced into the schools and colleges. Some of the classical scholars were for doing away with theology altogether, as a vain, monkish study which only obscured the great truths of religion. The old-fashioned professors, on their part, naturally denounced the new learning, which they declared made pagans of those who became enamored of it. Sometimes the humanists were permitted to teach their favorite subjects in the universities; but as time went on, it became clear that the old and the new teachers could not work amicably side by side.

At last, a little before Luther's public appearance, a conflict occurred between the "poets," as the humanists were fond of calling themselves, and the "barbarians," as they called the theologians and monkish writers. An eminent Hebrew scholar, Reuchlin, had become involved in a bitter controversy with the Dominican professors of the University of Cologne. His cause was championed by the humanists, who prepared an extraordinary satire upon their opponents. They wrote a series of letters,[1] which were addressed to one of the Cologne professors and purported to be from his former students and

[1] There is an edition of these letters, *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, with the Latin text and an English translation, by F. G. Stokes (1909). The peculiar name of the satire is due to the fact that Reuchlin's sympathizers wrote him many letters of encouragement, which he published under the title *Letters of Celebrated Men to John Reuchlin*. The humanists then pitched upon the modest title *Letters of Obscure Men* for the supposed correspondence of the admirers of the monks. The following is an example of the "obscure men's" poetry. One of them goes to Hagenau and meets a certain humanist, Wolfgang Angst, who, the writer complains, struck him in the eye with his staff.

Et ivi hinc ad Hagenau
Da wurden mir die Augen blau
Per te, Wolfgang Angst,
Gott gib das du hangst,
Quia me cum baculo
Percusseras in oculo.

admirers. In these letters the writers take pains to exhibit the most shocking ignorance and stupidity. They narrate their scandalous doings with the ostensible purpose of obtaining advice as to the best way to get out of their scrapes. They vituperate the humanists in comically bad Latin, which is perhaps the best part of the joke. In this way those who later opposed Luther and his reforms were held up to ridicule, and their opposition to progress seemed clearly made out.

Erasmus the Reformer; Sir Thomas More

The acknowledged prince of the humanists was Erasmus. No other man of letters, unless it be Voltaire, has ever enjoyed such a general reputation during his lifetime. He was venerated by scholars far and wide, even in Spain and Italy. Although he was born in Rotterdam, about 1469, he was not a Dutchman, but a citizen of the world; he is, in fact, claimed by England, France, and Germany. He lived in each of these countries for a considerable period, and in each he left his mark on the thought of the time. Erasmus, like most of the Northern humanists, was deeply interested in religious reform, and he aspired to give the world a higher conception of religion and the Church than that which generally prevailed. He clearly perceived, as did all the other intelligent people of the day, the vices of the prelates, the priests, and especially the monks. Erasmus reached the height of his fame just before the public appearance of Luther; consequently his writings afford an admirable means of determining how he and his innumerable admirers felt about the Church and the clergy before the opening of the great revolt.

Erasmus made several sojourns in England between the years 1499 and 1514, and made friends of the scholars there. He was especially fond of Sir Thomas More, who wrote the famous *Utopia*, and of John Colet, who was lecturing at Oxford upon the Epistles of St. Paul. Colet's enthusiasm for Paul

appears to have led Erasmus to direct his vast knowledge of the ancient languages to the explanation of the New Testament. This was known only in the common Latin version (the Vulgate), into which many mistakes and misapprehensions had crept. Erasmus felt that the first thing to do in order to promote higher ideas of Christianity was to purify the sources of the faith by preparing a correct edition of the New Testament. Accordingly, in 1516 he published the original Greek text, and to a second edition, in 1519, he added a new Latin translation accompanied by explanations which mercilessly exposed the mistakes of the great body of theologians.

Erasmus would have had the Bible in the hands of everyone. In the introduction to his edition of the New Testament he says that women should read the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul as well as the men. The peasant in the field, the artisan in his shop, and the traveler on the highroad should while away the time with passages from the Bible. He says,

> I vehemently dissent from those who would not have private persons read the Holy Scriptures nor have them translated into the vulgar tongues, as though either Christ taught such difficult doctrines that they can be only understood by a few theologians, or the safety of the Christian religion lay in the ignorance of it.

Erasmus was so great an admirer both of the loftiest pagan writers and of the Church Fathers, especially Jerome, that he believed they could be brought together. Cicero seemed to him a good man and true; and as for Socrates, he might well be ranked as a saint. So he strove to make people see that the good and wise of pagan times agreed in many ways with the Christian teachers. He wished not to increase but to diminish the difference between the wisdom, insight, and virtue of the best of the pagan writers and the message of the apostles.

He consistently satirized the popular confidence in mere outward acts and ceremonies, such as visiting the graves of saints, the mechanical repetition of prayers, and so forth. He claimed

that the Church had become careless and had permitted the simple teachings of Christ to be buried under myriads of dogmas introduced by the theologians. "The essence of our religion," he says, "is peace and harmony. These can only exist where there are few dogmas and each individual is left to form his own opinion upon many matters."

In his celebrated *Praise of Folly*[1] Erasmus has much to say of the weaknesses of the monks and theologians, and of the foolish people who thought that religion consisted simply in pilgrimages, the worship of relics, and the procuring of indulgences. Scarcely one of the abuses which Luther later attacked escaped Erasmus's satirical pen. The book is a mixture of light humor and moral earnestness. As one turns its pages one is sometimes tempted to think Luther half right when he declared Erasmus "a scoffer who makes sport of everything, even of religion and Christ himself." Yet there was in this humorist a deep seriousness that cannot be ignored. Erasmus was really directing his extraordinary industry, knowledge, and insight not only toward a revival of classical literature but chiefly to *a renaissance of Christianity*. He believed, however, that revolt from the Pope and the Church would produce a great disturbance and result in more harm than good. He preferred to trust in the slower but surer effects of enlightenment and knowledge. Popular superstitions and any undue regard for the outward forms of religion would, he argued, be outgrown and peacefully discarded as mankind became more cultivated. To Erasmus, as to many of his contemporaries and successors, a study of literature—of the best that has been said and thought—might be relied upon as the most efficient way to overcome the crude beliefs of the past.

Erasmus, in spite of a certain friendship for the rulers of his time, pronounced a very harsh verdict on monarchs:

> The eagle is the image of a king, for he is neither beautiful nor musical, nor fit for food, but he is carnivorous, rapacious, a brigand,

[1] This may be had in English.

a destroyer, solitary, hated by all, a pest to all, who, though he can do more harm than anyone, wishes to do even more harm than he can.

In all history, ancient and modern, scarcely in several centuries are found one or two princes whose signal folly did not inflict ruin on mankind. . . . I know not whether much of the blame of this should not be imputed to ourselves. We trust the rudder of a vessel, where a few sailors and some goods alone are in jeopardy, to none but skillful pilots; but the State, wherein the safety of so many thousands is bound up, is put into any chance hands.

The guardians of a prince aim never to let him become a man. The nobility, battening on public corruption, endeavor to make him as effeminate as possible by pleasure, lest he should know what a prince ought to know. Villages are burnt, fields devastated, churches pillaged, innocent citizens slaughtered, all things spiritual and temporal are confounded, while the king plays dice, or dances, or amuses himself with fools, or hunting and drinking.[1]

These observations were remembered by those who perceived the grotesqueness of hereditary monarchy. But Erasmus added to his denunciation of kings the qualifying clause that "princes must be endured, lest tyranny give way to anarchy, a still greater evil." The Peasants' Revolt in Germany (see pages 428–430) he cites as evidence that the cruelty of kings is preferable to popular disorder.

Erasmus wrote a sort of textbook for princes and, what is still more interesting, a pamphlet against war, which he called *The Complaint of Peace*. In these and in his letters he expresses the conviction that an unjust peace was better than the most justifiable war. Like Pierre Dubois he recommends an international court of arbitration. "There are many bishops, abbots, learned men, and grave magistrates, by whose judg-

[1] These passages are taken from the very popular *Adages*, a collection of sayings from classical authors with the accompanying comments of Erasmus. I have followed the translation of Professor Preserved Smith (see his admirable *Erasmus*, p. 200).

ments these disputes might be far more decently composed than by murder, pillage, and calamity throughout the world."

Erasmus was much influenced in his criticisms of the government of his day by Sir Thomas More, an English friend of his, who published in 1516, in Latin, a famous work, *Utopia*. More was born in 1478, and in his younger days had witnessed the aftermath of the Wars of the Roses under Henry VII (see pages 344–346) and had formed a very sad impression of kingly government. When he was sent by Henry VIII on a mission to Antwerp in 1515, he seems to have thought out his *Utopia*, which is something between a satire on the civilization of his time and a reform tract. He imagines himself meeting a traveler who had visited South America and penetrated into unknown regions where he had discovered the realm of "Nowhere"—for this is what "Utopia" means.

It is easy to get an English translation of this remarkable work, and everyone should be familiar with it. The word "utopia" has become synonymous with ideal and impracticable schemes for bettering the world. It pictures the happy conditions in a land which has avoided the evils of European governments. The Utopians only fought to keep out invaders or free others from tyranny. No one was persecuted there for his religion, so long as he did not trouble others. The Utopians had a scorn of money and appear to have adopted a communistic system. People were esteemed for their worth, not for their wealth. They had no such thing as property in the European sense of the term.

The traveler claimed that the teachings of Christ were "more opposite to the men of this age" than the institutions of Utopia. When asked why, with all his strange experience and knowledge, he should not become the adviser of some important monarch, the traveler replied:

> Do you not think that if I were about any king, proposing good laws to him, and endeavoring to root out all the cursed seeds of evil that I found in him, I should either be turned out of his court, or at

least laughed at for my pains? For instance, what could it signify if I were associated with the king of France, and were called into his cabinet council, where several wise men, in his hearing, were proposing many expedients: as by what arts and practices Milan may be kept; and Naples, that had so oft slipped out of their hands, recovered; how the Venetians, and after them the rest of Italy, may be subdued; and how then Flanders, Brabant, and all Burgundy, and some other kingdoms which he has already swallowed in his designs, may be added to his empire.[1] . . . Now when things are in so great fermentation, and so many gallant men are joining councils how to carry on the war, if so mean a man as I should stand up and wish them to change all their councils, to let Italy alone, and stay at home, since the kingdom of France was already greater indeed than could be well governed by one man; that, therefore, they should not think of adding others to it: if after this, I should propose to them the resolutions of the Achorians, a people that lie on the southeast of Utopia, who long ago engaged in a war, in order to add to the dominions of their prince another kingdom, to which he had some pretensions by an ancient alliance. This they conquered, but found the trouble of keeping it was equal to that by which it was gained; that the conquered people were always either in rebellion or exposed to foreign invasions, while they were obliged to be incessantly at war, either for or against them, and consequently could never disband their army; that in the mean time they were oppressed with taxes, their money went out of the kingdom, their blood was spilt for the glory of their king, without procuring the least advantage to the people, who received not the smallest advantage from it even in time of peace.[2]

The prince of the Achorians finally decided that his own kingdom was quite "big enough, if not too big for him." "Pray," the traveler asks, "how would such a speech be received?"

No wonder this little book was not published in England until long after Henry VIII had permitted More's head to be cut off and to be exposed on London Bridge as a warning to anyone who differed in any essential point from His Majesty.

[1] Compare pages 362–363.

[2] This is the main point in Norman Angell's *Great Illusion.*

German Resentment against the Papal Curia

The grudge of Germany against the papal court never found a more eloquent expression than in the verses of its greatest minnesinger, Walther von der Vogelweide. Three hundred years before Luther's time he had declared that the Pope was making merry over the stupid Germans. "All their goods will be mine, their silver is flowing into my far-away chest; their priests are living on poultry and wine and leaving the silly layman to fast." Similar sentiments may be found in the German writers of all the following generations. Every one of the sources of discontent with the financial administration of the Church which the councils had tried to correct was particularly apparent in Germany. The successive diets kept these questions to the fore by their long lists of *gravamina*, mentioned above. The great German prelates, such as the archbishops of Mainz, Trèves, Cologne, and Salzburg, were each required to contribute no less than ten thousand gold guldens to the papal treasury upon having their election duly confirmed by the Pope; and many thousands more were expected from them when they received the pallium.[1] The Pope enjoyed the right to fill many important benefices in Germany, and frequently appointed Italians, who drew the revenue without dreaming of performing any of the duties attached to the office. A single person frequently held several Church offices. For example, early in the sixteenth century the archbishop of Mainz was at the same time archbishop of Magdeburg and bishop of Halberstadt. In some instances a single person had accumulated over a score of benefices.

It is impossible to exaggerate the impression of deep and widespread discontent with the condition of the Church which one meets in the writings of the early sixteenth century. The whole German people, from the rulers down to the humblest tiller of the fields, felt themselves unjustly used. The clergy

[1] See page 228.

were denounced as both immoral and inefficient. One devout writer exclaims that young men to whom one would not intrust the care of a cow are considered quite good enough to be priests. While the begging friars—the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians[1]—were scorned by many, they, rather than the secular clergy, appear to have carried on the real religious work. It was an Augustinian friar, we shall find, who preached the new gospel of justification by faith.

Very few indeed thought of withdrawing from the Church or of attempting to destroy the power of the Pope. All that most of the Germans wished was that the money which, on one pretense or another, flowed toward Rome should be kept at home, and that the clergy should be upright, earnest men who should conscientiously perform their religious duties. One patriotic writer, however, Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), was preaching something very like revolution at the same time that Luther began his attack on the Pope.

Hutten was the son of a poor knight; but he early tired of the monotonous life of the monastery to which he had been sent by his father, and determined to seek the universities and acquaint himself with the ancient literatures, of which so much was being said. In order to carry on his studies he visited Italy and there formed a most unfavorable impression of the papal court and of the Italian churchmen, whom he believed to be oppressing his beloved fatherland. When the *Letters of Obscure Men* appeared, he was so delighted with them that he prepared a supplementary series in which he freely satirized the theologians. Soon he began to write in German as well as in Latin, in order the more readily to reach the ears of the people. In one of his pamphlets attacking the popes he explains that he has himself seen how Leo X spends the money which the Germans send him: a part goes to his relatives, a part to maintain the luxurious papal court, and a part to worth-

[1] The Augustinian order, to which Luther belonged, was organized in the thirteenth century, a little later than the Dominican and the Franciscan.

less companions and attendants, whose disreputable character and scandalous lives would shock any honest Christian.

In Germany, of all the countries of Europe, conditions were such that Luther's appearance wrought like an electric shock throughout the nation, leaving no class unaffected. Throughout the land there was discontent and a yearning for better things. Very various, to be sure, were the particular longings of the prince and the scholar, of knight, burgher, and peasant; but almost all were ready to consider, at least, the teachings of one who presented to them a new conception of salvation which made many of the doctrines and practices of the old Church superfluous and offered an excuse for throwing off the burdens it imposed.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PROTESTANT REVOLT

Martin Luther and his Views

Martin Luther was of peasant origin. His father was very poor, and was trying his fortune as a miner near the Harz Mountains when his eldest son, Martin, was born in 1483. Martin sometimes spoke in later life of the poverty and superstition which surrounded him in his childhood; of how his mother carried on her back the wood for the household and told him stories of a witch who had made away with some of the neighbors' children. The boy was sent early to school, for his father was determined that his eldest son should be a lawyer. In his eighteenth year Martin entered the greatest of the north-German universities, at Erfurt, where he spent four years. There he became acquainted with some of the young humanists; for example, the one who is supposed to have written a great part of the *Letters of Obscure Men.* He was interested in the various classical writers, but devoted the usual attention to logic and Aristotle.

Suddenly, when Luther had completed his college course and had just entered the law school, he called his friends together for one last hour of pleasure; and the next morning he led them to the gate of an Augustinian monastery, where he bade them farewell and, turning his back on the world, became a mendicant friar. That day, July 17, 1505, when the young master of arts, regardless of his father's anger and disappointment, sought salvation within the walls of a monastery, was the beginning of a religious experiment which had momentous consequences for the world.

Luther later declared that "if ever a monk got to heaven through monkery," he was assuredly among those who merited salvation. So great was his ardor, so nervously anxious was he to save his soul by the commonly recognized means of fasts, vigils, prolonged prayers, and a constant disregard of the usual rules of health, that he soon could no longer sleep. He fell into despondency and finally into despair. The ordinary observance of the rules of the monastery, which satisfied most of the monks, failed to give him peace. He felt that even if he outwardly did right he could never purify all his thoughts and desires. His experience led him to conclude that neither the Church nor the monastery provided any device which enabled him to keep his affections always centered on what he knew to be holy and right. Therefore all these expedients seemed to him to fail, and to leave him, at heart, a hopelessly corrupt sinner, justly under God's condemnation.

Gradually a new view of Christianity came to him. The head of the monastery bade him trust in God's goodness and mercy and not to rely upon his own "good works." He began to study the writings of St. Paul, of Augustine, and of the German mystic Tauler; from them he was led to conclude that man was incapable, in the sight of God, of any good works whatsoever and could be saved only by faith in God's promises. This gave him much comfort; but it took him years to clarify his ideas and to reach the conclusion that the existing Church was opposed to the idea of justification by faith because it fostered what seemed to him a delusive confidence in "good works." Luther was thirty-seven years old before he finally became convinced that it was his duty to become the leader in the destruction of the old order.

It was no new thing for a young monk, suddenly cut off from the sunshine and hoping for speedy spiritual peace, to suffer disappointment and fall into gloomy forebodings, as did Brother Martin. Having fought the battle through to victory, however, he was soon placed in a position to bring comfort to

others similarly afflicted with doubts as to their power to please God. In 1508 he was called to the new university which Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, had established at Wittenberg. He lectured at first on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. Later he turned his attention to the Psalms and the Epistles of Paul, and after 1515 he began to teach his students the doctrine of justification by faith.

Luther had as yet no idea of attacking the Church. When, about 1511, he journeyed to Rome on business of his order, he devoutly visited all the holy places for the good of his soul, and was almost tempted to wish that his father and mother were dead, so that he might free them from purgatory by his pious observances. Yet he was shocked by the impiety of the Italian churchmen and the scandalous stories about popes Alexander VI and Julius II, the latter of whom was just then engaged in his warlike expeditions into northern Italy. The evidences of immorality on the part of the popes may well have made it easier for him later to reach the conclusion that the head of the Church was the chief enemy of religion.

Before long he began to encourage his students to defend his favorite beliefs in the debates in which they took part. For instance, one of the candidates for a degree, under Luther's inspiration, attacked the old theology against which the humanists had been fighting. "It is an error," he says, "to declare that no one can become a theologian without Aristotle; on the contrary, no one can become a theologian except it be without him." Luther desired the students to rely upon the Bible, Paul's writings above all, and upon the Church Fathers, especially Augustine.[1]

[1] He writes exultingly to a friend, "Our kind of theology reigns supreme in the university; only one who lectures on the Bible, Augustine, or some real Church father, can reckon on any listeners; and Aristotle sinks lower and lower every day." In this way he sought to discredit Peter Lombard, Aquinas, and all the writers who were then most popular in the theological schools.

Luther's First Steps in Revolt

In October, 1517, Tetzel, a Dominican monk, began distributing indulgences in the neighborhood of Wittenberg and making claims for them which appeared to Luther wholly irreconcilable with the deepest truths of Christianity as he understood and taught them. He therefore, in accordance with the custom of the time, wrote out a series of ninety-five statements in regard to indulgences. These he posted on the church door and invited anyone interested in the matter to enter into a discussion with him on the subject, which he believed was very ill understood. In posting these *theses*, as they were called, Luther did not intend to attack the Church and had no expectation of creating a sensation. The theses were in Latin and were addressed only to scholars. It turned out, however, that everyone, high and low, learned and unlearned, was ready to discuss the perplexing theme of the nature of indulgences. The theses were promptly translated into German, printed, and scattered throughout the land.

In order to understand the indulgence, it must be remembered that the priest had the right to forgive the sin of the truly contrite sinner who had duly confessed his evil deeds.[1] Absolution freed the sinner from the deadly guilt that would otherwise have dragged him down to hell, but it did not free him from the penalties which God or his representative, the priest, might choose to impose upon him. Serious penances had earlier been imposed by the Church for wrongdoing, but in Luther's time the sinner who had been absolved was afraid chiefly of the penalties reserved for him in purgatory. It was there that his soul would be purified by suffering and prepared for heaven. The indulgence was a pardon, usually granted by the Pope, through which the contrite sinner escaped a part or all of the *punishment* which remained even after he had been absolved. The pardon did not, therefore, forgive the *guilt* of the sinner,

[1] See pages 235–236.

for that had necessarily to be removed before the indulgence was granted; it only removed or mitigated the penalties which even the forgiven sinner would, without the indulgence, have expected to undergo in purgatory.[1]

The first indulgences for the *dead* had been granted shortly before the time of Luther's birth. By securing one of these the relatives or friends of those in purgatory might reduce the period of torment which the sufferers had to undergo before they could be admitted to heaven. Those who were in purgatory had, of course, been duly absolved of the guilt of their sins before their death; otherwise their souls would have been lost, and the indulgence could not advantage them in any way.

With a view to obtaining funds from the Germans to continue the reconstruction of the great church of St. Peter,[2] Leo X had arranged for the extensive grant of indulgences, both for the living and for the dead. The contribution for them varied greatly: the rich were required to pay a considerable sum, whereas the *very* poor were to receive these pardons gratis. The representatives of the Pope were naturally anxious to collect all the money possible, and did their best to induce everyone to secure an indulgence, either for himself or for his deceased friends in purgatory. In their zeal they made for the indulgences many reckless claims, to which no thoughtful churchman or even layman could listen without misgivings.

Luther was by no means the first to criticize the current notions of indulgences; but his theses, owing to the vigor of their language and the existing irritation of the Germans against the administration of the Church, first brought the subject into prominence. He declared that the indulgence was very unimportant, and that the poor man had better spend his money for

[1] It is a common mistake of Protestants to suppose that the indulgence was forgiveness granted beforehand for sins to be committed in the future. There is absolutely no foundation for this idea. A person proposing to sin could not possibly be contrite in the eyes of the Church, and even if he secured an indulgence it would, according to the theologians, have been quite worthless.

[2] See page 334.

the needs of his household. The truly repentant, he argued, do not flee punishment, but bear it willingly in sign of their sorrow. Faith in God, not the procuring of pardons, brings forgiveness; and every Christian who feels true contrition for his sins will receive full remission of the punishment as well as of the guilt. Could the Pope know how his agents misled the people, he would rather have St. Peter's burn to ashes than build it up with money gained under false pretenses. Then, Luther adds, there is danger that the common man will ask awkward questions. For example, "If the Pope releases souls from purgatory for money, why not for charity's sake?" or, "Since the Pope is rich as Crœsus, why does he not build St. Peter's with his own money, instead of taking that of the poor man?"

The theses were soon forwarded to Rome; and a few months after they were posted, Luther received a summons to appear at the papal court to answer for his heretical assertions. Luther still respected the Pope as the head of the Church, but he had no wish to risk his safety by going to Rome. As Leo X was anxious not to offend so important a person as the elector of Saxony, who intervened for Luther, he did not press the matter, and agreed that Luther should confer with the papal emissaries in Germany.

Brother Martin was induced to keep silence for a time, but was aroused again by a great debate arranged at Leipzig in the summer of 1519. Here Eck, a German theologian noted for his devotion to the Pope and for his great skill in debate, challenged one of Luther's colleagues, Carlstadt, to discuss publicly some of the matters in which Luther himself was especially interested. Luther therefore asked to be permitted to take part.

The discussion turned upon the powers of the Pope. Luther, who had been reading Church history, declared that the Pope had not enjoyed his supremacy for more than four hundred years. This statement was inaccurate, but, nevertheless, he had hit upon an argument against some tenets of the Roman

Catholic Church which has ever since been constantly urged by Protestants. They assert that the medieval Church and the papacy developed slowly, and that the apostles knew nothing of masses, indulgences, purgatory, and the headship of the bishop of Rome.

Eck promptly pointed out that Luther's views resembled those of Wycliffe and Huss, which had been condemned by the Council of Constance. Luther was forced reluctantly to admit that the council had condemned some thoroughly Christian teachings. This was a decisive admission. Like other Germans, Luther had been accustomed to abhor Huss and the Bohemians and to regard with pride the great general council of Constance, which had been held in Germany and under the auspices of its Emperor. He now admitted that even a general council could err, and was soon convinced "that we are all Hussites, without knowing it; yes, Paul and St. Augustine were good Hussites." Luther's public encounter with a disputant of European reputation, and the startling admissions which he was compelled to make, first made him realize that he might become the leader in an attack on the Church. He began to see that a great change and upheaval was unavoidable.

Luther's Friends and Enemies

As Luther became a confessed revolutionist he began to find friends among other revolutionists and reformers. He had some ardent admirers even before the disputation at Leipzig, especially at Wittenberg and in the great city of Nuremberg. To the humanists Luther seemed a natural ally. They might not understand his religious beliefs, but they clearly saw that he was beginning to attack a class of people that they disliked, particularly the old-fashioned theologians who venerated Aristotle. He felt, moreover, as they did in regard to the many vices in the Church, and was becoming suspicious of the begging monks, although he was himself at the head of the Witten-

berg monastery. So those who had defended Reuchlin were now ready to support Luther, to whom they wrote encouraging letters. Luther's works were published at Basel and sent to Italy, France, England, and Spain.

Erasmus, the mighty sovereign of the men of letters, was for a time attracted by Luther's proposed reforms and did what he could, in a prudent manner, to secure him a fair hearing. In October, 1519, he sent a letter to the archbishop of Mainz in which he said that he did not know Luther, but that Luther had written him a right Christian letter, "at least to my way of thinking, and I answered, incidentally warning the man not to write anything seditious or insolent of the Roman pontiff, nor anything arrogant or fierce, but to preach the evangelical doctrine with sincere mind and all gentleness. This I did civilly in order to make my advice more effective."

Erasmus was convinced that Luther was ruining his own cause by his violent language. But in spite of this, Erasmus hated to see the monks and theologians win. He writes to an English friend in July, 1521:

> After Luther has been burned to ashes, and when some not too sincere inquisitors and theologians shall take glory to themselves for having burned him, good princes should take care not to allow these gentlemen to rage against the innocent and meritorious, and let us not be so far carried away with hatred of Luther's bad writings that we lose the fruit of his good ones.

Erasmus maintained that he had not read more than a dozen pages of Luther's writings. Although he admitted that "the monarchy of the Roman high priest is, in its existing condition, the pest of Christendom," he believed that a direct attack upon it would do no good. Luther, he urged, had better be discreet and trust that mankind would become more intelligent and outgrow their false ideas. In short, he sympathized with many of Luther's ideas and he hated Luther's enemies, but he dreaded being drawn into the controversy.

To Erasmus man was capable of progress: cultivate him and extend his knowledge, and he would grow better and better. He was a free agent, with, on the whole, upright tendencies. To Luther, on the other hand, man was utterly corrupt, and incapable of a single righteous wish or deed. His will was enslaved to evil, and his only hope lay in the recognition of his absolute inability to better himself and in a humble reliance upon God's mercy. By faith only, not by conduct, could he be saved. Erasmus was willing to wait until everyone agreed that the Church should be reformed. Luther had no patience with an institution which seemed to him to be leading souls to destruction by inducing men to rely upon their good works. Both men realized that they could not agree. For a time they expressed respect for each other, but at last they became involved in a bitter controversy in which they gave up all pretense to friendship. Erasmus declared that Luther, by scorning good works and declaring that no one could do right, had made his followers indifferent to their conduct, and that those who accepted Luther's teachings straightway became pert, rude fellows, who would not take off their hats to him on the street.

Ulrich von Hutten, on the other hand, warmly espoused Luther's cause as that of a German patriot and an opponent of Roman tyranny, intrigue, and oppression. "Let us defend our freedom," he wrote, "and liberate the long-enslaved fatherland. We have God on our side, and if God be with us, who can be against us?" Hutten enlisted the interest of some of the other knights, who offered to defend Luther should the churchmen attack him, and invited him to take refuge in their castles.

Thus encouraged, Luther, who gave way at times to his naturally violent disposition, became threatening, and suggested that the civil power should punish the churchmen and force them to reform their conduct. "If we punish thieves with the gallows, bandits with the sword, heretics with fire, why should we not, with far greater propriety, attack with every kind of weapon these very masters of perdition, the car-

dinals, popes, and the whole mob in the Roman Sodom, who eternally corrupt the Church of God, and why should we not wash our hands in their blood?" "The die is cast," he writes to a friend; "I despise Rome's wrath as I do her favor; I will have no reconciliation or intercourse with her in all time to come. Let her condemn and burn my writings. I will, if fire can be found, publicly condemn and burn the whole papal law."

Luther's Appeal to the Country

Hutten and Luther vied with each other during the year 1520 in attacking the Pope and his representatives. They both possessed a fine command of the German language, and they were fired by a common hatred of Rome. Hutten had little or none of Luther's religious fervor; but he could not find colors too dark in which to picture to his countrymen the greed of the papal curia, which he described as a vast den to which everything was dragged which could be filched from the Germans. Of Luther's popular pamphlets the first really famous one was his *Address to the German Nobility*, in which he called upon the rulers of Germany, especially the knights, to reform the abuses themselves, since he believed that it was vain to wait for the Church to do so.

He explained that there were three walls behind which the papacy had been wont to take refuge when anyone proposed to remedy its abuses. There was, first, the claim that the clergy formed a separate class, superior even to the civil rulers, who might not punish a churchman, no matter how bad he was. Secondly, the Pope claimed to be superior to a council, so that even the representatives of the Church might not correct him. And, lastly, the Pope assumed the sole right to interpret the meaning of the Scriptures; consequently he could not be refuted by arguments from the Bible. Thus the Pope had stolen the three rods with which he might have been punished. Luther claimed to cast down these defenses by denying, to begin with,

that there was anything especially sacred about a clergyman except the duties which he had been designated to perform. If he did not attend to his work, he might be deprived of his office at any moment, just as one would turn off an incompetent tailor or farmer; and in that case he became a simple layman again. Luther claimed that it was the right and duty of the civil government to punish a churchman who did wrong, just as if he were the humblest layman. When this first wall was destroyed, the others would fall easily enough, for the dominant position of the clergy was the very corner stone of the medieval Church.[1]

The pamphlet closed with a long list of evils which must be done away with before Germany could become prosperous. Luther saw that his view of religion really implied a social revolution. He advocated reducing the monasteries to a tenth of their number and freely permitting those who were disappointed in the good they got from living in them to leave. He would not have them prisons, but hospitals and refuges for the soul-sick. He pointed out the evils of pilgrimages and of the numerous Church holidays, which interfered with daily work. The clergy, he urged, should be permitted to marry and have families, like other citizens. The universities should be reformed, and the *Ethics* and *Metaphysics* of "the accursed heathen, Aristotle," should be cast out from them.

It should be noted that Luther appealed to the authorities not in the name of religion chiefly, but in that of public order and prosperity. He said that the money of the Germans flew "feather-light" over the Alps to Italy, but it suddenly became like lead when there was a question of its coming back. He showed himself a master of vigorous language, and his denunciations of the clergy and the Church resounded like a trumpet call in the ears of his countrymen.

Luther had said little of the doctrines of the Church in his *Address to the German Nobility*; but within three or four

[1] See page 233 for the Church's doctrine of the "indelible character" which the priest received at ordination.

months he issued a second work (*The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*), in which he sought to overthrow the whole system of the seven sacraments, as it had been taught by Peter Lombard and the theologians of the thirteenth century.[1] Four of the seven—ordination, marriage, confirmation, and extreme unction—he ceased to regard as sacraments. He completely revised the conception of the Mass, or the Lord's Supper. He stripped the priest of his singular powers by denying that he performed the miracle of transubstantiation or offered a sacrifice for the living and the dead when he officiated at the Lord's Supper. The priest was, in his eyes, only a minister (in the Protestant sense of the word), one of whose chief functions was preaching.

Luther had long expected to be excommunicated. But it was not until late in 1520 that his adversary, Eck, arrived in Germany with a papal bull condemning many of Luther's assertions as heretical and giving him sixty days in which to recant. Should he fail to come to himself within that time, he and all who adhered to or favored him were to be excommunicated, and any place which harbored him should fall under the interdict. Now, since the highest power in Christendom had pronounced Luther a heretic, he should unhesitatingly have been delivered up by the German authorities. But no one thought of arresting him.

The bull irritated the German princes; whether they liked Luther or not, they decidedly disliked to have the Pope issuing commands to them. Then it appeared to them very unfair that Luther's personal enemy should have been intrusted with the publication of the bull. Even the princes and universities that were most friendly to the Pope published the bull with great reluctance. The students of Erfurt and Leipzig pursued Eck

[1] See pages 233–237. The two great works of Luther, here mentioned, as well as his *Freedom of the Christian*, in which he explains his own doctrine very simply, may be found translated in Wace and Buchheim's *Luther's Primary Works*.

with pointed allusions to Pharisees and devil's emissaries. In many cases the bull was ignored altogether. Luther's own sovereign, the elector of Saxony, while no convert to the new views, was anxious that Luther's case should be fairly considered, and continued to protect him. One mighty prince, however, the young Emperor Charles V, promptly and willingly published the bull; not, however, as Emperor, but as ruler of the Austrian dominions and of the Netherlands. Luther's works were burned at Louvain, Mainz, and Cologne, the strongholds of the old theology.

A Definite Break with the Old Order

"Hard it is," Luther exclaimed, "to be forced to contradict all the prelates and princes, but there is no other way to escape hell and God's anger." Never had one man so unreservedly declared war upon very nearly the whole consecrated order of things. As one power arrayed against an equal, the Wittenberg professor opposed himself to Pope and Emperor, giving back curse for curse and fagot for fagot. His students were summoned to witness "the pious, religious spectacle" when, toward the end of 1520, he cast Leo's bull on the fire, along with the canon law and one of the books of scholastic theology which he most disliked.

Never was the temptation so great for Luther to encourage a violent demolition of the old structure of the Church as at this time. Hutten was bent upon the speedy carrying-out of the revolution which both he and Luther were forwarding by their powerful writings. Hutten had taken refuge in the castle of the leader of the German knights, Franz von Sickingen, who he believed would be an admirable military commander in the coming contest for truth and liberty. Hutten frankly proposed to the young Emperor that the papacy should be abolished, that the property of the Church should be confiscated, and that ninety-nine out of a hundred of the clergy should be dispensed with as superfluous. In this way Germany would be freed, he

argued, from the control of the "parsons" and from their corruption. From the vast proceeds of the confiscation the State might be strengthened and an army of knights might be maintained for the defense of the Empire.

Public opinion appeared ready for a revolution. "I am pretty familiar with the history of this German nation," Leo's representative, Aleander, remarked; "I know their past heresies, councils, and schisms, but never were affairs so serious before. Compared with present conditions, the struggle between Henry IV and Gregory VII was as violets and roses. . . . These mad dogs are now well equipped with knowledge and arms; they boast that they are no longer ignorant brutes like their predecessors; they claim that Italy has lost the monopoly of the sciences and that the Tiber now flows into the Rhine." "Nine tenths of the Germans," he calculated, "are shouting 'Luther,' and the other tenth goes so far at least as 'Death to the Roman curia!'"

Luther was too frequently reckless and violent in his writings. He often said that bloodshed could not be avoided when it should please God to visit his judgments upon the stiff-necked and perverse generation of "Romanists," as the Germans contemptuously called the supporters of the Pope. Yet he always discouraged precipitate reform. He was reluctant to make changes, except in belief. He held that so long as an institution did not mislead, it did no harm.

Luther was, in short, no fanatic at heart. As the Pope had established himself without force, so would he be crushed by God's word without force. This, we may assume, was Luther's most profound conviction, or hope, even in the first period of enthusiasm and confidence. He perhaps never fully realized how utterly different Hutten's ideas were from his own, for the poet-knight died while still a young man. And as for Franz von Sickingen, Luther soon learned to execrate the ruthless, worldly soldier who by his violence brought discredit upon the cause of reform.

The Edict of Worms

Among the enemies of the German reformers none was more important than the young Emperor. It was toward the end of the year 1520 that Charles came to Germany for the first time. After being crowned "King of the Romans" at Aix-la-Chapelle, he assumed, with the Pope's consent, the title of "Emperor-elect," as his grandfather Maximilian had done. He then moved on to the town of Worms, where he was to hold his first diet and face the German situation.

Although scarcely more than a boy in years, Charles had already begun to take life very seriously. He had decided that Spain, not Germany, was to be the bulwark and citadel of all his realms. Like the more enlightened of his Spanish subjects, he realized the need of reforming the Church, but he had no sympathy whatever with any change of doctrine. He proposed to live and die a devout Catholic of the old type, such as his orthodox ancestors had been. He felt, moreover, that he must maintain the same religion in all parts of his heterogeneous dominions. If he should permit the Germans to declare their independence of the Church, the next step would be for them to claim that they had a right to regulate their government regardless of their emperor.

Upon arriving at Worms the case of Luther was at once forced upon Charles's attention by the assiduous papal representative, Aleander, who was indefatigable in urging him to outlaw the heretic without further delay. While Charles seemed convinced of Luther's guilt, he could not proceed against him without serious danger. The monk had become a national hero and had the support of the powerful elector of Saxony. Other princes, who had ordinarily no wish to protect a heretic, felt that Luther's denunciation of the evils in the Church and of the actions of the Pope was very gratifying. After much discussion it was finally arranged, to the great disgust of the zealous Aleander, that Luther should be summoned

to Worms and be given an opportunity to face the German nation and the Emperor, and to declare plainly whether he was the author of the heretical books ascribed to him, and whether he still adhered to the doctrines which the Pope had declared wrong.

The Emperor accordingly wrote the "honorable and respected" Luther a very polite letter, ordering him to appear at Worms and granting him a safe-conduct thither. Luther said, on receiving the summons, that if he was going to Worms merely to retract, he might better stay in Wittenberg, where he could, if he would, abjure his errors quite as well as on the Rhine. If, on the other hand, the Emperor wished him to come to Worms in order that he might be put to death, he was quite ready to go, "for, with Christ's help, I will not flee and leave the Word in the lurch. My revocation will be in this wise: 'Earlier I said that the Pope was God's vicar; now I revoke and say, the Pope is Christ's enemy and an envoy of the devil.'"

Luther accordingly set out for Worms accompanied by the imperial herald. He enjoyed a triumphal progress through the various places on his way and preached repeatedly, in spite of the fact that he was an excommunicated heretic. He found the diet in a great state of commotion. The papal representative was the object of daily insults, and Hutten and Sickingen talked of scattering Luther's enemies by a sally from the neighboring castle of Ebernburg.

It was not proposed to give Luther an opportunity to defend his beliefs before the diet. When he appeared before "Emperor and Empire," he was simply asked if a pile of his Latin and German works were really his, and, if so, whether he revoked what he had said in them. To the first question the monk replied in a low voice that he had written these and more. As to the second question, which involved the welfare of the soul and the word of God, he asked that he might have a little while to consider.

The following day, in a Latin address which he repeated in German, he admitted that he had been overviolent in his attacks upon his opponents; but he said that no one could deny that, through the popes' decrees, the consciences of faithful Christians had been miserably ensnared and tormented, and their goods and possessions, especially in Germany, devoured. Should he recant those things which he had said against the Pope's conduct, he would only strengthen the papal tyranny and give an opportunity for new usurpations. If, however, adequate arguments against his position could be found in the Scriptures, he would gladly and willingly recant. He could not, however, accept the decision either of Pope or of council, since both, he believed, had made mistakes and contradicted themselves. "I must," he concluded, "allow my conscience to be controlled by God's Word. Recant I can not and will not, for it is hazardous and dishonorable to act against one's conscience."

There was now nothing for the Emperor to do but to outlaw Luther, who had denied the binding character of the commands of the head of the Church and of the highest Christian tribunal, a general council. His argument that the Scriptures sustained him in his revolt could not be considered by the diet.[1]

Aleander was accordingly assigned the agreeable duty of drafting the famous Edict of Worms. This document declared Luther an outlaw on the following grounds: that he disturbed the recognized number and celebration of the sacraments, impeached the regulations in regard to marriage, scorned and vilified the Pope, despised the priesthood and stirred up the laity to dip their hands in the blood of the clergy, denied free will, taught licentiousness, despised authority, advocated a brutish

[1] It must be remembered that it was the Emperor's business to execute the law, not to discuss its propriety with the accused. In the same way nowadays, should a man convicted, for example, of bigamy urge that he believed it Scriptural to have two wives, the court would refuse to listen to his arguments and would sentence him to the penalty imposed by law, in spite of the fact that the prisoner believed he had acted in accordance with God's word.

existence, and was a menace to Church and State alike. Everyone was forbidden to give the heretic food, drink, or shelter, and was required to seize him and deliver him to the Emperor.

Moreover, the decree provides that "no one shall dare to buy, sell, read, preserve, copy, print, or cause to be copied or printed any books of the aforesaid Martin Luther, condemned by our holy father the Pope, as aforesaid, or any other writings in German or Latin hitherto composed by him, since they are foul, noxious, suspected, and published by a notorious and stiff-necked heretic. Neither shall anyone dare to affirm his opinions, or proclaim, defend, or advance them in any other way that human ingenuity can invent, notwithstanding that he may have put some good into his writings in order to deceive the simple man."

For the last time the Empire had recognized its obligation to carry out the decrees of the bishop of Rome. "I am becoming ashamed of my fatherland," Hutten cried. So general was the disapproval of the edict that few were willing to pay any attention to it. Charles immediately left Germany, and for nearly ten years was occupied outside it with the government of Spain and with a succession of wars.

Moderates and Revolutionists

As Luther neared Eisenach upon his way home from Worms he was seized by a band of men and conducted to the Wartburg, a castle belonging to the elector of Saxony. Here he was concealed until any danger from the action of the Emperor or diet should pass by. His chief occupation during several months of hiding was to begin a new translation of the Bible into German. He had finished the New Testament before he left the Wartburg in March, 1522.

Up to this time German editions of the Scriptures, while not uncommon, had been poor and obscure. Luther's task was a difficult one. He said with truth that "translation is not an art

to be practiced by everyone; it demands a right pious, true, industrious, reverent, Christian, scholarly, experienced, and well-trained mind" (he had studied Greek for five or six years, but he knew rather more Hebrew than Greek). And there was no generally accepted form of the German language of which he could make use. Each region had its peculiar dialect, which seemed outlandish to the neighboring district.

He was anxious, above all, that the Bible should be put into language that would seem perfectly clear and natural to the common folk. So he went about asking the mothers and children and the laborers such questions as might draw out the expression that he was looking for. It sometimes took him two or three weeks to find the right word. But so well did he do his work that his Bible may be regarded as a great landmark in the history of the German language. It was the first book of any importance written in modern German, and it has furnished an imperishable standard for the language.

Previous to 1518 there had been very few books or pamphlets printed in German. The translation of the Bible into language so simple that even the unlearned might profit by it was only one of the signs of a general effort to awaken the minds of the common people. Luther's friends and enemies also commenced to write for the great German public in its own language. The common man began to raise his voice, to the scandal of the learned.

Hundreds of pamphlets, satires, and pictorial caricatures have come down to us which indicate that the religious and other questions of the day were often treated in somewhat the same spirit in which our comic papers deal with political problems and discussions now. We find, for instance, a correspondence between Leo X and the devil, and a witty dialogue between Franz von Sickingen and St. Peter at the gate of heaven. In the latter Peter confesses that he has never heard of the right "to loose and to bind," of which his successors say so much. He refuses to discuss military matters with Sick-

ingen, but calls in St. George, who is supposed to be conversant with the art of war. In another satire a vacation visit of St. Peter to the earth is described. He is roughly treated, especially by the soldiers at an inn, and hastens back to heaven with a sad tale of the evil plight of Germany, of how badly children are brought up, and how unreliable the servants are.[1]

Hitherto there had been a great deal of talk of reform; but as yet nothing had actually been done. There was no sharp line drawn between the different classes of reformers. All agreed that something should be done to better the Church; few realized how divergent were the real ends in view. The princes listened to Luther because they hoped to control the churchmen and their property and to check the outflow of money to Rome. The knights, under Sickingen, hated the princes, of whose increasing power they were jealous. Their idea of "righteousness" involved the destruction of the existing rulers and the exaltation of their own class. The peasants heard Luther gladly because he seemed to furnish new proofs of the injustice of the dues which they paid to their lords. The higher clergy were bent upon escaping the papal control, and the lower clergy wished to have their marriages sanctioned. It is clear that religious motives must have been often subordinated to other interests.

Disappointment and chagrin awaited Luther when each of the various parties began to carry out its particular notions of reform. He felt that his doctrines were misunderstood, distorted, and dishonored. He sometimes was driven to doubt if his belief in justification by faith were not after all a terrible mistake. His first shock came from Wittenberg.

While Luther was still at the Wartburg, Carlstadt, one of his colleagues in the university, became convinced that the monks and nuns ought to leave their cloisters and marry, like other people. This was a serious proposition for two reasons. In the first place, those who deserted the cloister were violating

[1] See *Readings*, chap. xxvi.

an oath which they had voluntarily taken; in the second place, if the monasteries were broken up, the problem would present itself of the disposal of their property, which had been given to them by pious persons for the good of their souls and with the expectation that the monks would give the donors the benefit of their prayers. Nevertheless, the monks began to leave Luther's own monastery, and the students and citizens to tear down the images of the saints in the churches. The Lord's Supper was no longer celebrated in the form of the Mass, since that was declared to be an idolatrous worshiping of the bread and wine. Then Carlstadt reached the conclusion that all learning was superfluous, for the Scriptures said plainly that God had concealed himself from the wise and revealed the truth unto babes. He astonished the tradespeople by consulting them in regard to obscure passages in the Bible. The school at Wittenberg was turned into a bakeshop. The students, who had been attracted to the university from all parts of Germany, began to return home, and the professors prepared to emigrate.

When the news of these events reached Luther, he left his concealment, regardless of the danger, and returned to Wittenberg. Here he preached a series of vigorous sermons in which he pleaded for moderation. With some of the changes advocated by Carlstadt he sympathized. He would, for instance, have done away with the adoration of the Host and the celebration of private masses. On the other hand, he disapproved of the disorderly breaking up of the monasteries, although he held that those who had accepted the doctrine of justification by faith might lay aside their cowls, since they had taken their vows when they were under the misapprehension that they could save themselves by good works. Those who remained in the monasteries were not, moreover, to beg any longer, but should earn an honest livelihood.

Luther felt that all changes in religious practices should be made by the government; it should not be left to "Mr. Everybody" (*Herr Omnes*) to determine what should be rejected

and what retained. If the authorities refused to act, then there was nothing to do but to be patient and use one's influence for good.

> Teach, speak, write, and preach that the ordinances of man are naught. Advise that no one shall any more become a priest, monk, or nun, and that those who occupy such positions shall leave them. Give no more money for papal privileges, candles, bells, votive tablets, and churches, but say that a Christian life consists in faith and love. Let us keep this up for two years and you will see where pope, bishop, monks, nuns, and all the hocus-pocus of the papal government will be: it will vanish away like smoke.

God, Luther urged, has left us free to choose whether we shall marry, become monks, fast, confess, or place images in the churches. These things are not vital to salvation, and each may do what seems to him to be helpful in his particular case.

Luther's plan of moderation was, however, wholly impracticable. The enthusiasm of those who rejected the old views led to a whole-hearted repudiation of everything which suggested their former beliefs. Few could look with forbearance upon the symbols and practices of a form of religion which they had learned to despise. Moreover, many who had no deep religious feelings delighted in joining in the destruction of the paintings, stained glass, and statues in the churches, simply from a love of disorder.

The Princes grow Interested

Luther was soon to realize that a peaceful revolution was out of the question. His knightly adherents, Hutten and Franz von Sickingen, were the first to bring discredit upon the religious movement by their violence. In the autumn of 1522 Sickingen declared war upon his neighbor, the archbishop of Trèves, in order to make a beginning in the knights' proposed attack upon the princes in general. He promised the people of Trèves "to free them from the heavy, unchristian

yoke of the parsons and to lead them into evangelical liberty." He had already abolished the Mass in his castle and had given shelter to some of Luther's followers. But Franz, in undertaking to put the gospel, as he understood it, in practice by arms, had other than religious motives. His admiration for Luther's religious views probably had but little to do with his anxiety to put down a hated ecclesiastical prince and seize his property.

The archbishop of Trèves proved himself a sagacious military commander and gained the support of his subjects. Franz was forced to retire to his castle, where he was besieged by the neighboring elector of the Palatinate and the landgrave of Hesse, a friend of Luther's. The walls of the stronghold were battered down by the "unchristian cannonading," and the "executor of righteousness," as Franz was called, was fatally injured by a falling beam. A few months later Hutten died, a miserable fugitive in Switzerland. A confederation of the knights, of which Sickingen had been the head, aroused the apprehension of the princes, who gathered sufficient forces to destroy more than twenty of the knights' castles. So Hutten's great plan for restoring the knights to their former influence came to a sad and sudden end. It is clear that these men had little in common with Luther; yet they talked much of "evangelical reform," and he was naturally blamed for their misdeeds. Those who adhered to the old Church now felt that they had conclusive proof that heresy led to anarchy; and since it threatened the civil government as well as the Church, they urged that it should be put down with fire and sword.

While Luther was in the Wartburg, the cultured and worldly Leo X had died and had been succeeded by a devout professor of theology from the Netherlands who had once had the honor to be Charles V's tutor. The new pope, Hadrian VI, was honest and simple and a well-known advocate of reform without change of belief. He believed that the German revolt was a divine judgment called down by the wickedness of men, especially of the priests and prelates. In a meeting of the German

diet at Nuremberg he freely confessed, through his legate, that the popes had been perhaps the most conspicuous sinners.

> We well know that for many years the most scandalous things have happened in this holy see [of Rome],—abuses in spiritual matters, violations of the canons,—that, in short, everything has been just the opposite of what it should have been. What wonder, then, if the disease has spread from the head to the members, from the popes to the lower clergy. We clergymen have all strayed from the right path, and for a long time there has been no one of us righteous, no, not one.

In spite of this honest confession Hadrian was unwilling to listen to the grievances of the Germans until they had put down Luther and his heresies. He was, the Pope declared, a worse foe to Christendom than the Turk. There could be nothing fouler or more disgraceful than Luther's teachings. He sought to overthrow the very basis of religion, morality, and government. He was like Mohammed, but worse, for he would have the consecrated monks and nuns marry. Nothing would be securely established among men if every presumptuous upstart should insist that he had the right to overturn everything which had been firmly established for centuries and by saints and sages.

The German diet was much gratified by the Pope's frank avowal of the sins of his predecessors, in which it heartily concurred. It was glad that the Pope was going to begin his reform at home, but it strenuously refused to order the enforcement of the Edict of Worms for fear of stirring up new troubles. The Germans were too generally convinced that they were suffering from the oppression of the Roman curia to permit Luther to be injured. His arrest would seem an attack upon the freedom of gospel teaching and a defense of the old system; it might even lead to civil war. So the diet advised that a Christian council be summoned in Germany to be made up of laymen as well as clergymen, who should be charged to speak their

opinions freely and to say not what was pleasant but what was true. In the meantime only the pure gospel should be preached, according to the teaching of the Christian Church. As to the complaint of the Pope that the monks had deserted their monasteries and the priests taken wives, these were not matters with which the civil authority had anything to do. As the elector of Saxony observed, he paid no attention to the monks when they ran into the monastery, and he saw no reason for noticing when they ran out. Luther's books were, however, to be no longer published, and learned men were to admonish the erring preachers. Luther, himself, was to hold his peace. This doubtless gives a fair idea of public opinion in Germany. It is noteworthy that Luther did not seem to the diet to be a very discreet person, and it showed no particular respect for him.

Poor Hadrian speedily died, worn out with the vain effort to correct the abuses close at home. He was followed by Clement VII, a member of the House of Medici, less gifted but not less worldly than Leo X. A new diet, called in 1524, adhered to the policy of its predecessor. It was far from approving of Luther, but it placed no effective barrier in the way of his work.

The papal legate, realizing the hopelessness of inducing all the members of the diet to coöperate with him in bringing the country once more under the Pope's control, called together at Ratisbon a certain number of rulers whom he believed to be rather more favorably disposed toward the Pope than their fellows. Among these were Charles V's brother, Ferdinand, duke of Austria; the two dukes of Bavaria; the archbishops of Salzburg and of Trent; and the bishops of Bamberg, Speyer, Strasbourg, etc. By means of certain concessions on the part of the Pope, he induced all these to unite in opposing the Lutheran heresy. The chief concession was a reform decree which provided that only authorized preachers should be tolerated, and that these should base their teaching on the works of the four great Fathers of the Latin Church—Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great. The clergy were to be

subjected to careful discipline; there was to be no more financial oppression and no unseemly payments demanded for performing the Church services. Abuses arising from the granting of indulgences were to be remedied and the excessive number of holidays reduced.

This agreement of Ratisbon is of great importance, for it served to separate Germany into two camps. Austria, Bavaria, and the great ecclesiastical states in the south definitely took sides with the Pope against Luther, and to this day they still remain Catholic countries. In the north, on the other hand, it became more and more apparent that the princes proposed to secede from the Catholic Church. Moreover, the skillful diplomacy of the papal legate was really the beginning of a reformation of the old Church in Germany. Many of the abuses were done away with, and the demand for reform, without revolution in doctrine and institutions, was thereby gratified. A German Bible for Catholic readers (based on Luther's translation, but following the accepted Latin text, the Vulgate) was soon issued, and a new religious literature grew up designed to prove the truth of the beliefs sanctioned by the Roman Catholic Church and to spiritualize its institutions and rites.

The Peasants rise in the Name of Righteousness

In 1524–1525 the conservative party, who were frankly afraid of Luther, received a new and terrible proof, as it seemed to them, of the noxious influence of his teachings. The peasants rose, in the name of "God's justice," to avenge their wrongs and establish their rights. Luther was not responsible for the civil war which ensued, but he had certainly helped to stir up discontent. He had asserted that owing to the habit of foreclosing small mortgages "anyone with a hundred guldens could gobble up a peasant a year." The German feudal lords he had declared to be hangmen, who knew only how to swindle the poor man. "Such fellows were formerly called rascals, but

now must we call them 'Christian and revered princes.'" Wise rulers are rare indeed: "princes are usually either great fools or the worst rogues on earth." Yet in spite of his harsh talk about the princes, Luther really relied upon them to forward his movement, and he justly claimed that he had greatly increased their power by destroying the authority of the Pope and subjecting the clergy in all things to the government.

Almost all the demands of the peasants were perfectly reasonable. The most popular expression of their needs was the dignified "Twelve Articles."[1] In these they claimed that the Bible did not sanction many of the dues which the lords demanded of them, and that as Christians they should no longer be held as serfs. They were willing to pay all the old and well-established dues, but they asked to be properly remunerated for extra services demanded by the lord. They thought, too, that each community should have the right freely to choose its own pastor and to dismiss him if he proved negligent or inefficient.

Much more radical demands came from the working classes in the towns, who in some cases joined the country people in their revolt. The articles drawn up in the town of Heilbronn, for example, give a good idea of the sources of discontent. The Church property was to be confiscated and used for the good of the community, except in so far as it was necessary to support the pastors chosen by the people. The clergy and nobility were to be deprived of all their privileges and powers, so that they could no longer oppress the poor man.

There were, moreover, leaders who were still more violent, who proposed to kill the "godless" priests and nobles. Hundreds of castles and monasteries were destroyed by the frantic peasantry, and some of the nobility were murdered with shocking cruelty. Luther tried to induce the peasants, with whom, as the son of a peasant, he was at first inclined to sympathize, to remain quiet; but when his warnings proved vain, he at-

[1] The "Twelve Articles" may be found in *Readings*, Vol. II, chap. xxvi.

tacked the rebels violently. He declared that they were guilty of the most fearful crimes, for which they deserved death of both body and soul many times over. They had broken their allegiance, they had wantonly plundered and robbed castles and monasteries, and, lastly, they had tried to cloak their dreadful sins with excuses from the gospel. He therefore urged the government to put down the insurrection without mercy—to "stab, smite, and slay" the rebels, who were "worse than the Turks."

Luther's advice was followed with terrible literalness by the German rulers, and the nobility took fearful revenge for the depredations of the peasants. In the summer of 1525 the chief leader of the peasants was defeated and killed, and contemporaries estimated that one hundred thousand peasants were put to death, many with the utmost cruelty. Few rulers or lords introduced any reforms, and the misfortunes due to the destruction of property and to the despair of the peasants cannot be imagined. The people concluded that the new gospel was not for them, and talked of Luther as "Dr. Lügner" (that is, "liar"). The old exactions of the lords of the manors were in no way lightened, and the situation of the peasants for centuries following the great revolt was worse rather than better.

The Augsburg Confession

The terror inspired by the peasant war led to new measures against further attempts to change the religious beliefs of the land. The League of Dessau was formed among some of the leading rulers of central and northern Germany, to stamp out "the accursed Lutheran sect." The union included Luther's arch-enemy, Duke George of Saxony, the electors of Brandenburg and Mainz, and two princes of Brunswick. The rumor that the Emperor, who had been kept busy for some years by his wars with Francis I, was planning to come to Germany in order to root out the growing heresy, led the few princes who

openly favored Luther to unite also. Among these the chief were the new elector of Saxony, John Frederick, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse. These two proved themselves the most ardent and conspicuous defenders of the Protestant faith in Germany.

A new war, in which Francis and the Pope sided against the Emperor, prevented Charles from turning his attention to Germany, and he accordingly gave up the idea of enforcing the Edict of Worms against the Lutherans. Since there was no one who could decide the religious question for all the rulers, the diet of Speyer (1526) determined that, pending the meeting of a general council, each ruler, and each knight and town owing immediate allegiance to the Emperor, should decide individually what particular form of religion should prevail in his realm. Each prince was "so to live, reign, and conduct himself as he would be willing to answer before God and His Imperial Majesty." For the moment, then, the various German governments were left to determine the religion of their subjects.

Yet all still hoped that one religion might ultimately be agreed upon. Luther trusted that all Christians would sometime accept the new gospel. He was willing that the bishops should be retained, and even that the Pope should still be regarded as a sort of presiding officer in the Church. As for his enemies, they were equally confident that the heretics would in time be suppressed, as they had always been in the past, and that harmony would thus be restored. Neither party was right; for the decision of the diet of Speyer was destined to become a permanent arrangement, and Germany remained divided between different religious faiths.

New sects opposed to the old Church had begun to appear. Zwingli, a Swiss reformer, was gaining many followers, and the Anabaptists were rousing Luther's apprehensions by their radical plans for doing away with the Catholic religion. As the Emperor found himself able for a moment to attend to German affairs, he bade the diet, again meeting at Speyer in 1529, to order the enforcement of the Edict of Worms against the here-

tics. No one was to preach against the Mass and no one was to be prevented from attending it freely.

This meant that the "Evangelical" princes would be forced to restore the most characteristic Catholic ceremony. As they formed only a minority in the diet, all that they could do was to draw up a *protest*, signed by John Frederick, Philip of Hesse, and fourteen of the imperial towns (Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Ulm, etc.). In this they claimed that the majority had no right to abrogate the edict of the former diet of Speyer, for that edict had been passed unanimously, and all had solemnly pledged themselves to observe the agreement. They therefore appealed to the Emperor and a future council against the tyranny of the majority. Those who signed this appeal were called from their action *Protestants*. Thus originated the name which came to be generally applied to those who do not accept the rule and teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

Since the diet at Worms the Emperor had resided in Spain, busied with a succession of wars carried on with the king of France. It will be remembered that both Charles and Francis claimed Milan and the duchy of Burgundy, and they sometimes drew the Pope into their conflicts. But in 1530 the Emperor found himself at peace for the moment, and held a brilliant diet of his German subjects at Augsburg in the hope of settling the religious problem, which, however, he understood very imperfectly. He ordered the Protestants to draw up a statement of exactly what they believed, which should serve as a basis for discussion. Melanchthon, Luther's most famous friend and colleague, who was noted for his great learning and moderation, was intrusted with the delicate task.

The Augsburg Confession, as his declaration was called, is a historical document of great importance for the student of the Protestant revolt.[1] Melanchthon's conservative and con-

[1] It is still accepted as the creed of the Lutheran Church. Copies of it in English may be procured from the Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia, for ten cents each.

ciliatory disposition led him to make the differences between his belief and that of the old Church seem as few and slight as possible. He showed that both parties held the same fundamental views of Christianity. The Protestants, however, defended their rejection of a number of the practices of the Roman Catholics, such as the celibacy of the clergy and the observance of fast days. There was little or nothing in the Augsburg Confession concerning the organization of the Church.

Certain theologians (some of whom, like Eck, had been loud in their denunciations of Luther) were ordered by the Emperor to prepare a refutation of the Protestant views. The statement of the Catholics admitted that a number of Melanchthon's positions were perfectly orthodox, but the portion of the Augsburg Confession which dealt with the practical reforms introduced by the Protestants was rejected altogether. Charles declared the Catholic statement to be "Christian and judicious" and commanded the Protestants to accept it. They were to cease troubling the Catholics and were to give back all the monasteries and Church property which they had seized. The Emperor agreed to urge the Pope to call a council to meet within a year. This, he hoped, would be able to settle all differences and to reform the Church according to the views of the Catholics.

The Progress of Protestantism; the Religious Peace of Augsburg, 1555

It is unnecessary to follow in detail the progress of Protestantism in Germany during the quarter of a century succeeding the diet of Augsburg. Enough has been said to show the character of the revolt and the divergent views taken by the German princes and people. For ten years after the Emperor left Augsburg he was kept busy in southern Europe by new wars; and in order to secure the assistance of the Protestants he was

forced to let them go their own way. Meanwhile the number of rulers who accepted Luther's teachings gradually increased. Finally there was a brief war between Charles and the Protestant princes, but the origin of the conflict was mainly political rather than religious. It occurred to the youthful Maurice, duke of Saxony, that by aiding the Emperor against his fellow Protestants he might find a good excuse for dispossessing his Protestant relative, John Frederick, of his electorate. There was but little fighting done. Charles V brought his Spanish soldiers into Germany and captured both John Frederick and his ally, Philip of Hesse, the chief leaders of the Lutheran cause, whom he kept prisoners for several years.

This episode did not check the progress of Protestantism. Maurice, who had been granted John Frederick's electorate, soon allied himself with the Protestants. The king of France promised them help against his enemy, the Emperor, and Charles was forced to agree to a preliminary peace with the Protestants. Three years later, in 1555, the religious Peace of Augsburg was ratified. Its provisions are memorable. Each German prince and each town and knight immediately under the Emperor was to be at liberty to make a choice between the beliefs of the venerable Catholic Church and those embodied in the Augsburg Confession. If, however, an ecclesiastical prince—an archbishop, a bishop, or an abbot—should declare himself a Protestant, he must surrender his possessions to the Church. Everyone was either to conform to the religious practices of his particular state or to emigrate. Church lands which had become Protestant before 1552 were, however, allowed to remain Protestant.

This religious peace in no way established freedom of conscience, *except for the rulers*. Their power, it must be noted, was greatly increased, inasmuch as they were given the control of religious as well as of secular matters. This arrangement which permitted the ruler to determine the religion of his realm was natural, and perhaps inevitable, in those days. The Church

and the civil government had been closely associated with each other for centuries. No one as yet dreamed that every individual, so long as he did not violate the law of the land, might safely be left quite free to believe what he would and to practice any religious rites which afforded him help and comfort.

The idea of religious freedom was, as we have seen, alien to the Christian Church, from the time of Theodosius the Great onward. The early Protestants accepted the old notions of intolerance and put them in practice when possible. A few proscribed individuals and small sects only stood for toleration and real freedom of conscience in religious matters.

There were two noteworthy weaknesses in the Peace of Augsburg which were destined to make trouble. In the first place, only one group of Protestants was included in it. The now numerous followers of the French reformer Calvin and of the Swiss reformer Zwingli, who were hated alike by Catholic and Lutheran, were not recognized. Every German had to be either a Catholic or a Lutheran in order to be tolerated. In the second place, the clause which decreed that ecclesiastical princes converted to Protestantism should surrender their property could not be enforced, for there was no one to see to its execution.

The Swiss Reformers: Zwingli

For at least a century after Luther's death the great issue between Catholics and Protestants dominates the history of all the countries with which we have to do, except Italy and Spain, where Protestantism never took permanent root. In Switzerland, England, France, and Holland the revolt against the medieval Church produced profound changes, which must be understood in order to follow the later development of these countries.

We turn first to Switzerland, which lies in the midst of the great chain of the Alps that extends from the Mediterranean to Vienna. During the Middle Ages the region destined to be included in the present Swiss Confederation formed a part of the

Empire and was scarcely distinguishable from the rest of southern Germany. As early as the thirteenth century the three "Forest Cantons," on the shores of the winding lake of Lucerne, had formed a union to protect their liberties against the encroachments of their neighbors, the Hapsburgs. It was about this tiny nucleus that Switzerland gradually consolidated. In 1315 the cantons gained their first great victory over the Hapsburgs, at Morgarten, and thereupon solemnly renewed their league. This was soon joined by Lucerne and the free imperial towns of Zürich and Bern. By brave fighting the Swiss were able to frustrate the renewed efforts of the Hapsburgs to subjugate them. Later, when a still more formidable enemy, Charles the Bold, undertook to conquer them, they put his armies to rout at Granson and Murten (1476).[1]

Various districts in the neighborhood successively joined the Swiss union, and even the region lying on the Italian slopes of the Alps was brought under its control. Gradually the bonds between the members of the union and the Empire were broken. These cantons were recognized as being no more than "relatives" of the Empire; in 1499 they were finally freed from the jurisdiction of the Emperor, and Switzerland became a practically independent country. Although the original union had been made up of German-speaking people, considerable districts had been annexed as vassal provinces in which Italian or French was spoken.[2] The Swiss did not, therefore, form a compact, well-defined nation, and for some centuries their confederation was weak and ill-organized.

In Switzerland the leader of the revolt against the Church was Zwingli, who was almost exactly the same age as Luther and, like him, was the son of peasant parents. Zwingli's father was prosperous, however, and the boy had the best education which could be obtained, at Basel and Vienna. His later dis-

[1] See pages 348–349.

[2] This condition has not changed; all Swiss laws are still proclaimed in three languages.

content with the old Church came not through spiritual wrestlings in the monastery, but from the study of the classics and of the Greek New Testament. Zwingli had become a priest and had settled at the famous monastery of Einsiedeln, near the lake of Zürich. This was the center of pilgrimages on account of a wonder-working image in the cell of St. Meinrad. "Here," he says, "I began to preach the gospel of Christ in the year 1516, before anyone in my locality had so much as heard the name of Luther."

Three years later he was called to an influential position as preacher in the cathedral of Zürich, and there his great work began. Through his efforts a Dominican who was preaching indulgences was expelled from the country. He then began to denounce the abuses in the Church as well as the shameless traffic in soldiers, which he had long regarded as a blot upon his country's honor.[1] The Pope had found the help of the Swiss troops indispensable, and had granted annuities and lucrative positions in the Church to influential Swiss, who were expected to work in his interest. So, from the first, Zwingli was led to combine with his religious reform a political reform which should put the cantons on better terms with one another and prevent the destruction of their young men in wars in which they had no possible interest. A new demand of the Pope for troops in 1521 led Zwingli to attack him and his commissioners. "How appropriate," he exclaims, "that they should have red hats and cloaks! If we shake them, crowns and ducats fall out. If we wring them, out runs the blood of your sons and brothers and fathers and good friends." So eloquent was the new preacher that one of his auditors reports that after a sermon he felt as if "he had been taken by the hair and turned inside out."

[1] Switzerland had made a business, ever since the time when Charles VIII of France invaded Italy, of supplying troops of mercenaries to fight for others, especially for France and the Pope. It was the Swiss, fighting for the duke of Milan, and the Pope that Francis I defeated at Marignano.

Such talk soon began to arouse comment, and the old Forest Cantons were for a violent suppression of the new teacher; but the town council of Zürich stanchly supported their priest. Zwingli then began to attack fasts and the celibacy of the clergy. In 1523 he prepared a complete statement of his belief, in the form of sixty-seven theses. In these he maintained that Christ was the only high priest and that the gospel did not gain its sanction from the authority of the Church. He denied the existence of purgatory and rejected those practices of the Church which Luther had already set aside. Since no one presented himself to refute Zwingli, the town council ratified his conclusions and so withdrew from the Roman Catholic Church. The next year the Mass, processions, and the images of the saints were abolished; the shrines were opened and the relics buried.

Some other towns followed Zürich's example; but the original cantons about the lake of Lucerne, which feared that they might lose the great influence that in spite of their small size they had hitherto enjoyed, were ready to fight for the old faith. The first armed collision, half political and half religious, between the Swiss Protestants and Catholics took place at Kappel in 1531, and Zwingli fell in the battle. The various cantons and towns never came to an agreement in religious matters, and Switzerland is still part Catholic and part Protestant.

The chief importance for the rest of Europe of Zwingli's revolt was the influence of his conception of the Lord's Supper. He not only denied transubstantiation,[1] but also the "real presence" of Christ in the elements (in which Luther believed), and conceived the bread and wine to be mere symbols. Those in Germany and England who accepted Zwingli's idea added one more to the Protestant parties, and consequently increased the difficulty of reaching a general agreement among those who had revolted from the Church.

[1] See page 236.

John Calvin's Scheme of Things Divine and Earthly

Far more important than Zwingli's teachings, especially for England and America, was the work of Calvin, which was carried on in the ancient city of Geneva, on the very outskirts of the Swiss Confederation. It was Calvin who organized the Presbyterian Church and formulated its beliefs. He was born in northern France, in 1509; he belonged, therefore, to the second generation of Protestants. He was early influenced by the Lutheran teachings, which had already found their way into France. A persecution of the Protestants under Francis I drove him out of the country, and he settled for a time in Basel.

Here he issued the first edition of his great work, *The Institute of Christianity*, which has been more widely discussed than any other Protestant theological treatise. It was the first orderly exposition of the principles of Christianity from a Protestant standpoint. Like Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, it formed a convenient manual for study and discussion. The *Institute* is based upon the infallibility of the Bible and rejects the infallibility of the Church and the Pope. Calvin possessed a remarkably logical mind and a clear and admirable style. The French version of his great work is the first example of the successful use of that language in an argumentative treatise.

While Calvin was sojourning at Basel, another French Protestant, William Farel (1489–1565), had been endeavoring to win over the city of Geneva to the new beliefs. In 1536 he succeeded in inducing a general assembly of the people to announce that they wished to live thereafter according to the "holy law of the gospel and the word of God," and to do away with "all masses, papal ceremonies and abuses, images and idols." When Calvin happened to pass through Geneva two or three months later, Farel seized upon him and induced him to remain and draw up a plan for controlling evildoers by a system of excommunication and by censors to be controlled and supported by the town government.

St. Paul, Calvin urged, had issued a solemn warning "that we should not keep company with one who is called a Christian but who is, none the less, a fornicator, covetous, an idolater, a railer, a drunkard, or an extortioner. So if there be any fear of God in us, this ordinance should be enforced in our church." Accordingly, the town council was asked to appoint certain wise, constant, and incorruptible persons (the *elders*, or *presbyters*) who should be distributed about the town "and have an eye on the life and conduct of every individual." If a sinner refused to repent, he was to be publicly denounced by the minister. Neighbors and relatives were invited to expostulate with those they suspected of sin and to report their suspicions to the elders.

> Should it appear that the offender proposes to persevere in his hardness of heart, it shall be time to excommunicate him; that is to say, the offender shall be regarded as cast out from the companionship of Christians and left in the power of the devil for his temporal confusion, until he shall give good proofs of penitence and amendment. In sign of his casting out he shall be excluded from the communion, and the faithful shall be forbidden to hold familiar converse with him. Nevertheless he shall not fail to attend the sermons in order to receive instruction, so that it may be seen whether it shall please the Lord to turn his heart to the right way. . . . But should there be insolent persons, abandoned to all perversity, who only laugh when they are excommunicated, and do not mind living and dying in that condition, it shall be your affair to determine whether you should long suffer such contempt and mocking of God to pass unpunished.

The town council was not, however, ready to adopt and enforce this extraordinary plan. There was a strong party of "liberals" (*libertins*, as they were called) who hated Calvin's whole puritanical spying system, and through their influence he and Farel were banished after a year and a half. In 1541, however, the liberals had become unpopular, and Calvin reluctantly consented to return. His propositions were formally adopted, including his elders, or presbyters, who were to watch

over the morals of their fellow townsmen and be sustained by the town government. The presbyters, from whom the Presbyterian Church was to have its name, were *laymen*, sharply distinguished from the pastors.

In spite of all Calvin's emphasis on morals, his doctrine of *predestination* seemed to make it quite indifferent whether one were good or bad, since he was foreordained by God from all eternity to go either to heaven or to hell. None of Calvin's teachings, which underlie the Presbyterian faith, have attracted more attention than his convictions in regard to election, original sin, and infant damnation. These he derived mainly from St. Paul, especially from Romans ix, 11–23. In his *Institute* he explains that when Adam fell by partaking of the forbidden fruit, his sin "kindled the horrible vengeance of God on all mankind."

> After the heavenly image of him was defaced Adam did not alone suffer this punishment, that in the place of wisdom, strength, holiness, truth and justice—with which ornaments he had been adorned —there came in the most horrible pestilences, blindness, weakness, filthiness, emptiness, and injustice,—but also he entangled and drowned his whole offspring in the same misery. This is the corruption that cometh by inheritance, which the old writers called "original sin," meaning by this word the corruption of nature, which originally was good and pure. About this matter there has been much contention, because there is nothing further from common reason than that all men should be made guilty for one man's fault. . . .
>
> We must be content with this—that such gifts as it pleased God to bestow on the nature of man he vested in Adam; and therefore when Adam lost them after he had received them, he lost them not only for himself, but also for us all. . . . Therefore from a rotten root rose up rotten branches, which sent their rottenness into the twigs that sprang out of them; for so were the children corrupted in their father that they in turn infected their children. . . . And therefore the very infants themselves, since they bring with them their own damnation from their mothers' womb, are bound not by another's but their own fault. For although they have not as yet

brought forth the fruits of their own iniquity, yet they have the seeds thereof inclosed within them, yea, their whole nature is a certain seed of sin, therefore it cannot but be hateful and abominable to God. . . . This perversity never ceaseth in us but bringeth forth new fruits, even the same works of the flesh, like as a burning furnace bloweth out flame and sparkles.

Calvin only elaborates the views of St. Paul, Augustine, and Luther when he states that by this original corruption human beings are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good and wholly inclined to all evil. Man is no longer free even to wish to do good, unless he be helped by God's grace, given only to the "elect," whom God, for the manifestation of his glory, has elected and chosen unto everlasting life. In regard to this election Calvin continues:

Predestination we call the eternal decree of God whereby he has determined with himself what he wills to become of every man. For all are not created to like estate; but to some eternal life and to some eternal damnation is foreordained. Therefore as every man is created to one or the other, so we say that he is predestinate either to life or death. . . . Foolish men do divers ways quarrel with God, as though they had him subject to their accusations. Especially, they ask by what right is the Lord angry with his creatures by whom he hath not first been provoked by any offense; for to condemn to destruction whom he will agreeth rather with the arbitrariness of a tyrant than with the lawful sentence of a judge. Therefore they say that there is good reason why men should accuse God if by his fore-will, without their own deserving, they should be predestined to eternal death. If such thoughts do at any time come into the mind of the godly, this shall suffice to break their violent assaults, although they have nothing more, if they consider how great wickedness it is even so much as to inquire the causes of God's will.

St. Paul foresaw the same objections, and he says:[1] "Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made

[1] Romans ix, 20 ff.

me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honor and another unto dishonor?"

Calvin's conception of Christianity was destined to make a wide appeal. It was accepted by the French Protestants (Huguenots), by the Scotch, and by a goodly number of Englishmen, and was finally to find a congenial atmosphere in the United States,—especially in New England, but also in the South, where Presbyterianism has a strong hold. A little over a century after Calvin first issued his *Institute*, a great conclave of Presbyterian divines was summoned in England by the Long Parliament, to formulate a new plan of church government (see page 508). They held their sessions for several years (1643–1649) in Westminster Abbey, and produced the so-called *Westminster Confession of Faith*. This was ostensibly based on the New Testament, but is in close harmony with Calvin's teachings and was the form in which Calvinism reached the United States. The Presbyterian *Confession* (chap. iii, 3–5)—which few Presbyterians take the trouble to read—presents the doctrine of predestination as follows:

> By the decree of God, for the manifestation of His glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others fore-ordained to everlasting death. These angels and men, thus predestinated and fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished. Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ, unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving him thereunto; and all to the praise of his glorious grace.

Luther and Calvin both agreed that this whole notion of the deity was against carnal reason; but they conceived God as in-

finitely above the poor operations of man's mind and his notions of decency and fairness. Reason, as Luther once remarked, was merely a pretty harlot who knew nothing of God's ways.

Henry VIII's Divorce Suit

The revolt of England from the medieval Church was very gradual and halting. Although there were some signs that Protestantism was gaining a foothold in the island not long after Luther's burning of the canon law, at least a generation passed away before the country definitely committed itself, upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558, to the change in religion. It seems at first sight that the revolution was due mainly to the irritation of Henry VIII against the Pope, who had refused to grant the king a divorce from his first wife in order that he might marry a younger and prettier woman. But a permanent change in the religious convictions of a whole people cannot fairly be attributed to the whim of even so despotic a ruler as Henry. There were changes taking place in England before the revolt similar to those which prepared the way in Germany for Luther's success.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century English scholars began to be affected by the new learning which came to them from Italy. When Erasmus reached England in 1499, he was delighted with the society which he found; and we may assume that his views, which we have before described,[1] represented those of a considerable number of intelligent Englishmen. It was at the house of Sir Thomas More that he finished the *Praise of Folly*, and he carried on his studies with such success in England and found such congenial companions there that it seemed to him, for a time, hardly worth while to go to Italy for intellectual inspiration. There is every reason to suppose that there were in England many who were quite conscious of the vices of the churchmen and who were ready to accept a system

[1] See pages 394–398.

which would abolish those practices that had come to seem useless and pernicious. Wycliffe, it will be remembered, had taught many of Luther's tenets.

Henry VIII's minister, Cardinal Wolsey, who dreamed of becoming Pope, thought it to his own interest to discourage his sovereign's ambition to take part in the wars on the Continent. The cardinal's argument that England could become great by peace better than by war was a momentous discovery. Peace, he felt, would be best secured by maintaining the *balance of power* on the Continent so that no ruler should become dangerous by unduly extending his sway. For example, he thought it good policy to side with Charles when Francis was successful, and then with Francis after his terrible defeat at Pavia (1525), when he fell into the hands of Charles. This idea of the balance of power came to be recognized later by the European countries as a very important consideration in determining their policy. But Wolsey was not long to be permitted to put his enlightened ideas in practice. His fall and the progress of Protestantism in England are both closely associated with the notorious divorce case of Henry VIII.

It will be remembered that Henry had married Catherine of Aragon, the aunt of Charles V. Only one of their children, Mary, had survived to grow up. Henry was very anxious to have a son and heir, for he was fearful lest a woman might not be permitted to succeed to the throne. Moreover, Catherine, who was older than he, had become distasteful to him.

Catherine had first married Henry's older brother, who had died a few months after the marriage. Since it was a violation of the rule of the Church to marry a deceased brother's wife, Henry professed to fear that he was committing a sin by retaining Catherine as his wife and demanded to be divorced from her on the ground that his marriage had never been legal. His anxiety to rid himself of Catherine was greatly increased by the appearance at court of a black-eyed girl of sixteen, named Anne Boleyn, with whom the king fell in love.

Unfortunately for his case, his marriage with Catherine had been authorized by a dispensation from the Pope, so that Clement VII, to whom the king appealed to annul the marriage, could not, even if he had been willing to alienate the queen's nephew, Charles V, have granted Henry's request. Wolsey's failure to induce the Pope to permit the divorce excited the king's anger, and with rank ingratitude for his minister's great services Henry drove him from office (1529) and seized his property. From a life of wealth which was fairly regal, Wolsey was precipitated into extreme poverty. An imprudent but innocent act of his soon gave his enemies a pretext for charging him with treason, but the unhappy man died on his way to London before his head could be brought to the block.

Henry VIII's Secession from the Papal Monarchy

The king's next move was to bring a preposterous charge against the whole English clergy by declaring that in submitting to Wolsey's authority as papal legate they had violated an ancient law forbidding papal representatives to appear in England without the king's permission. Yet Henry had approved Wolsey's appointment as papal legate. The clergy met at Canterbury and offered to buy pardon for their alleged offense by an enormous grant of money. But Henry refused to forgive them unless they would solemnly acknowledge him to be the supreme head of the English Church. This they accordingly did;[1] they agreed, moreover, to hold no general meetings or pass any rules without the king's sanction. The submission of the clergy insured Henry against any future criticism on their part of the measures he proposed to take in the matter of his divorce.

He now induced Parliament to threaten to cut off the income which the Pope had been accustomed to receive from

[1] The clergy only recognized the king as "Head of the Church and Clergy so far as the law of Christ will allow." They did not abjure the headship of the Pope over the whole Church.

newly appointed bishops. The king hoped in this way to bring Clement VII to terms. He failed, however, in this design and, losing patience, married Anne Boleyn secretly without waiting for the divorce. Parliament was then persuaded to pass the Act of Appeals, declaring that lawsuits of all kinds should be finally and definitely decided within the realm, and that no appeal might be made to anyone outside the kingdom. Catherine's appeal to the Pope was thus rendered illegal. When, shortly after, her marriage was declared void by a Church court summoned by Henry, she had no remedy. Parliament also declared Henry's marriage with Catherine unlawful and that with Anne legal. Consequently it was decreed that Elizabeth, Anne's daughter, who was born in 1533, was to succeed her father on the throne, instead of Mary, the daughter of Catherine.

In 1534 the English Parliament completed the revolt of the English Church from the Pope by assigning to the king the right to appoint all the English prelates and to enjoy all the income which had formerly found its way to Rome. In the Act of Supremacy, Parliament declared the king to be "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England," and that he should enjoy all the powers which the title naturally carried with it. Two years later every officer in the kingdom, whether lay or ecclesiastical, was required to swear to renounce the authority of the bishop of Rome. Refusal to take this oath was to be adjudged high treason. Many were unwilling to deny the Pope's headship merely because king and Parliament renounced it, and this legislation led to a persecution in the name of treason which was even more horrible than that which had been carried on in the supposed interest of religion.

It must be carefully noted that Henry VIII was not a Protestant in the Lutheran sense of the word. He was led, it is true, by Clement VII's refusal to declare his first marriage illegal, to break the bond between the English and the Roman Church, and to induce the English clergy and Parliament to acknowl-

edge him as supreme head in the religious as well as in the temporal interests of the country. No earlier English sovereign had ever ventured to go so far as this in the previous conflicts with Rome. He was ready, too, as we shall see, to appropriate the property of the monasteries, on the ground that these institutions were so demoralized as to be worse than useless. Important as these acts were, they did not lead Henry to accept the teachings of Protestant leaders, like Luther, Zwingli, or Calvin. He shared the popular distrust of the new doctrines and showed himself anxious to explain the old ones and free them from the objections which were beginning to be urged against them. A proclamation was made, under the authority of the king, in which the sacraments of baptism, penance, and the Mass were explained. Henry also authorized a recent translation of the Bible into English. A fine edition of this was printed (1536), and every parish was ordered to obtain a copy and place it in the parish church, where all the people could readily make use of it. It contained nothing about the Pope and so seemed to favor the king's revolt from the papacy.

Henry was anxious to prove that he was orthodox, especially after he had seized the property of the monasteries and the gold and jewels which adorned the receptacles in which the relics of the saints were kept. He presided in person over the trial of one who accepted the opinion of Zwingli that the body and blood of Christ were not present in the sacrament (see page 438). He quoted Scripture to prove the contrary, and the prisoner was condemned and burned as a heretic.

In 1539 Parliament passed a statute called the Six Articles. These declared first that the body and blood of Christ were actually present in the bread and the wine of the Lord's Supper; whoever ventured publicly to question this was to be burned. For speaking against five other tenets of the old Church, offenders were to suffer imprisonment and loss of goods for the first offense and to be hanged for the second. These tenets were the sufficiency of the bread without the wine

for the laity in partaking of the communion,[1] the celibacy of the clergy, the perpetual obligation of vows to remain unmarried, the propriety of private masses, and, lastly, confession. The act was popularly known as "the whip with six strings." Under its operation two bishops, who had ventured to go farther in the direction of Protestantism than Henry himself had done, were driven from office, and some offenders were put to death.

Henry's Church Reforms

Henry was heartless and despotic. With a barbarity not uncommon in those days he had his old friend and adviser Sir Thomas More beheaded for refusing to pronounce the marriage with Catherine void and to take the oath to the Act of Supremacy. He caused numbers of monks to be executed for refusing to swear that his first marriage was illegal and for denying his title to supremacy in the Church. Others he permitted to die of starvation and disease in the filthy prisons of the time. Many Englishmen would doubtless have agreed with one of the friars who said humbly:

> I profess that it is not out of obstinate malice or a mind of rebellion that I do disobey the king, but only for the fear of God, that I offend not the Supreme Majesty; because our Holy Mother, the Church, hath decreed and appointed otherwise than the king and Parliament hath ordained.

Henry wanted money; some of the English abbeys were rich, and the monks were quite unable to defend themselves against the charges which were brought against them. The king sent commissioners about to inquire into the moral state of the monasteries. A large number of scandalous tales were easily collected, some of which were probably true. The monks were

[1] The custom of the Church had long been that the priest alone should partake of the wine at communion. The Hussites, and later the Protestants, demanded that the laity should receive both the bread and the wine.

doubtless often indolent and sometimes wicked. Nevertheless, they were kind landlords, hospitable to the stranger, and good to the poor. The plundering of the smaller monasteries, with which the king began, led to a revolt, due to a rumor that the king would next proceed to despoil the parish churches as well. This gave Henry an excuse for attacking the larger monasteries. The abbots and priors who had taken part in the revolt were hanged and their monasteries confiscated. Other abbots, panic-stricken, confessed that they and their monks had been committing the most loathsome sins and asked to be permitted to give up their monasteries to the king. The royal commissioners then took possession, sold every article upon which they could lay hands, including the bells and the lead on the roofs. The picturesque remains of the great abbey churches are still among the chief objects of interest to the sight-seer in England. The monastery lands were, of course, appropriated by the king. They were sold for the benefit of the government or given to nobles whose favor the king wished to secure.

Along with the destruction of the monasteries went an attack upon the shrines and images in the churches, which were adorned with gold and jewels. The shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury was destroyed and the bones of the saint were burned. An old wooden figure revered in Wales was used to make a fire to burn an unfortunate friar who maintained that in things spiritual the Pope rather than the king should be obeyed. These acts suggest the Protestant attacks on images which occurred in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. The object of the king and his party was probably in the main a mercenary one, although the reason urged for the destruction was the superstitious veneration in which the relics and images were popularly held.

Henry's domestic troubles by no means came to an end with his marriage with Anne Boleyn. Of her, too, he soon tired, and three years after their marriage he had her executed on a series of dubious charges. Ten days later he married his third wife,

Jane Seymour, who was the mother of his son and successor, Edward VI. Jane died a few days after her son's birth; and later Henry married in succession three other women, who are historically unimportant since they left no children as claimants for the crown.

England swings toward Protestantism

Henry took care that his three children should be given their due place in the line of inheritance.[1] By an act of Parliament (1544) it was arranged that Henry should be succeeded by his son Edward. If Edward should have no children, the crown should pass to his eldest daughter, Mary, and her children. If Mary should die without heirs, Henry's youngest daughter, Elizabeth, should come to the throne.

Henry died in 1547, leaving the great problem of Protestantism and Catholicism to be dealt with by his son and daughters, all three of whom, as we shall see, were destined to reign and to take a hand in settling the question. Edward was but ten years old when he became king. His father had provided that the government should during his early years be placed in the hands of a carefully selected and moderate council; but the boy's uncle, the duke of Somerset, was soon able to gain control of affairs, and as "Protector" maintained his power until his unpopular measures brought about his downfall and he was succeeded by the duke of Northumberland.

Although the revolt of England against the papacy was carried out at a time when the greater part of the nation was still Catholic, there was undoubtedly, under Henry VIII, an ever-increasing number of Protestants who applauded the change. Those who managed the government during the six years of Edward's reign favored entirely the Protestant party and carried the "Reformation" much farther than Henry would have

[1] Henry VIII, m. (1) Catherine, m. (2) Anne Boleyn, m. (3) Jane Seymour
| | |
Mary (1553–1558) Elizabeth (1558–1603) Edward VI (1547–1553)

approved. They did all they could to change the faith of the English people by bringing Protestant teachers from the Continent and by enacting laws to establish the Protestant form of worship as the religion of the realm.

It was arranged that the king was to appoint bishops without troubling to observe the old forms of election; those bishops who opposed the changes were dismissed and Protestants put in their places. The Protector did not overlook the profit which would come from the confiscation of certain Church funds and endowments; for example, bequests which had been left by pious persons, the income from which was to be used to maintain a priest to say masses for the dead, to keep a candle lighted before the image of a saint, to support schools or poor people, and to do various other "good works." The trusts of all these founders were entirely betrayed when the government seized these funds on the ground that many of the forms of worship they perpetuated were superstitious and pagan practices. Nearly two thousand priests were deprived of their stipends from these endowments and provided with a small pension instead.

A general demolition of all the sacred images was ordered, and crucifixes were removed from the churches and destroyed. Even the beautiful stained glass—the glory of the cathedrals—was demolished because it often represented saints and angels. The clergy dispensed with their gorgeous vestments; the use of holy water was forbidden; fasting, penance, and pilgrimages were given up; and the clergy were permitted to marry. In this way the ancient and impressive externals of the long-accepted system of Christian worship were abolished.

A prayer book in English was prepared, by Archbishop Cranmer and others, not very unlike that used in the Church of England today. In 1548 the Act of the Six Articles was repealed. A revised edition of the Prayer Book was issued which embodied the doctrines of the Church, and which was approved by Parliament in 1549. Moreover, the government

drew up forty-two articles of faith, which were to be the standard of belief for the country. In the time of Queen Elizabeth these were revised and reduced to the famous "Thirty-nine Articles," which still constitute a sort of creed of the Church of England.[1]

In 1552 an Act of Uniformity was passed which required the use of the Prayer Book throughout the land; no other form of worship was permitted than that prescribed by the government, and all persons were required to attend church on Sundays and holy days. Sermons (or *homilies*, as they were called) for the proper instruction of the people were prepared, to be read in the churches. These exalted the prerogatives of the monarch and sought to refute all the claims of the popes.

The following "Act for the abolishing and putting away of diverse books and images" (1547) affords an excellent example of the efforts of the government to secure uniformity by prohibiting certain practices of the Catholics.

Whereas, the king's most excellent Majesty hath of late set forth and established by authority of the Parliament an uniform, quiet and godly order for common prayer in a book entitled, *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments*, to be used and observed in the said Church of England, agreeably to the order of the primitive Church, much more comfortable unto his loving subjects than other diversity of service, as heretofore of long time hath been used. . . . Be it enacted therefore, by the king, our sovereign lord, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in the present Parliament assembled, that all books . . . hitherto used for service of the Church, written or printed in the English or Latin tongue, other than such as are or shall be set forth by the king's Majesty, shall be by authority of this present act clearly and utterly abolished, extinguished, and forbidden forever to be used or kept in the realm.

And be it further enacted, that if any person or persons of what estate, degree, or condition soever, that now have or hereafter shall

[1] These may be found in any edition of the Book of Common Prayer of the English Church or of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

have in his, her, or their custody, any books or writings of the sorts aforesaid, or any images of stone, timber, alabaster, or earth, graven, carved or painted, which heretofore have been taken out of any church or chapel, or yet stand in any church or chapel and do not before the last day of June next ensuing deface and destroy, or cause to be defaced and destroyed, the same images, and deliver all and every the same books to the mayor, bailiff, constable, or church wardens of the town where such books then shall be, to be by them delivered over openly within three months to the archbishop, bishop, or chancellor, to the intent the said archbishop, bishop, or chancellor cause them immediately either to be openly burned or otherwise defaced and destroyed, shall for every such book or books willingly retained in his, her, or their hands or custody within the realm, or elsewhere within any of the king's dominions, after the last day of June (and be therefore lawfully convict) forfeit and lose to the king, our sovereign lord, for the first offense twenty shillings, and for the second offense shall forfeit and lose (being therefore lawfully convict) four pounds, and for the third offense shall suffer imprisonment at the king's will.

Although many approved the changes made in the Church services by the government, a great part of the English people who had been accustomed to watch with awe and reverence the various acts associated with Church ceremonies must have been sadly shocked.[1] Earnest men who perceived the misrule of those who conducted Edward's government in the name of Protestantism must have concluded that the reformers were intent chiefly upon advancing their own interests by plundering the Church. We get some idea of the desecrations of the time from the fact that Edward was forced to forbid "quarreling and shooting in churches" and "the bringing of horses and mules through the same, making God's house like a stable or common inn." It is no wonder that after Edward's death there was a revulsion in favor of the old religion.

[1] For an extract from the bishop of Worcester's diary, recording these changes, see *Readings*, chap. xxvii.

Queen Mary and the Catholic Reaction

Edward VI died in 1553 and was succeeded by his half-sister Mary, who had been brought up in the Catholic faith and who held firmly to it. Her ardent hope of bringing her kingdom back once more to her religion did not seem altogether ill founded; for the majority of the people were still Roman Catholics at heart, and there had been much disapproval of the harsh and ruthless policy of Edward's ministers, even by Protestants, who did not like to have abuses removed "in the devil's own way by breaking in pieces." Moreover, the kingdom was far from prosperous; and there was great dissatisfaction with the government aside from religious matters. The new queen was welcomed, therefore, with general rejoicing.

The Venetian ambassador, in a report to his government, describes Queen Mary as follows:

Queen Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and of his queen Catherine (daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Aragon) is a princess of great worth. In her youth she was rendered unhappy by the event of her mother's divorce; by the ignominy and threats to which she was exposed after the change of religion in England, she being unwilling to unbend to the new one; and to the dangers to which she was exposed by the duke of Northumberland, and the riots among the people when she ascended the throne.[1]

She is of short stature, well made, thin and delicate, and moderately pretty; her eyes are so lively that she inspires reverence and respect, and even fear, wherever she turns them; nevertheless she is very shortsighted. Her voice is deep, almost like that of a man. She

[1] The duke of Northumberland, fearing that Mary's accession would cost him his power and perhaps his life, determined on a bold plot to prevent her from coming to throne. He arranged a marriage between his son and Lady Jane Grey, an attractive young cousin of the king, and persuaded Edward, over whom he had great influence, to set aside his father's will and to name Lady Jane as his successor. The nobles of the realm, however, supported Mary's claim to the throne, and the duke's troops refused to arrest her. The plot completely failed, and the duke and Lady Jane were sent to the scaffold. A later effort to depose Mary in favor of Elizabeth was also unsuccessful.

understands five languages—English, Latin, French, Spanish and Italian, in which last, however, she does not venture to converse. She is also much skilled in ladies' work, such as producing all sorts of embroidery with the needle. She has a knowledge of music, chiefly on the lute, on which she plays exceedingly well. As to the qualities of her mind, it may be said of her that she is rash, disdainful and parsimonious rather than liberal. She is endowed with great humility and patience, but withall high-spirited, courageous and resolute, having during the whole course of her adversity not been guilty of the least approach to meanness of deportment; she is moreover, devout and stanch in the defense of her religion.

Mary proclaimed immediately after her accession that she proposed to adhere to the religion which she had ever professed from her infancy, "which her Majesty is minded to observe and maintain for herself by God's grace during her time—so doth her Highness much desire and would be glad the same were of all her subjects quietly and charitably embraced." She speedily repealed the Church legislation of Edward's reign; then, by a second act of repeal (1554), that of Henry VIII, thus restoring the conditions which had existed before 1529. She wished to give back the Church property, but this was deemed impossible. The Catholic service in Latin, with the celebration of the Mass, was now restored, and crucifixes and other emblems of Catholic ceremonial reappeared. The Catholic bishops who had been deprived of their offices or imprisoned during Edward's reign were recalled and restored to their former positions.

Although Parliament was glad to authorize these changes, restoring, as they did, conditions with which they sympathized, there was serious opposition when it was learned that the queen wished to go farther and bring England once more under the papacy. Parliament furthermore protested against the queen's intention of marrying her cousin Philip, the son of Emperor Charles V. Although Philip was an unmistakable Catholic, Parliament did not approve of a foreign marriage for

their queen and the possibility of England's becoming a dependency of some foreign power.

Mary thereupon dissolved the Parliament, and a rebellion followed which had as its object the deposition of Mary and the crowning of Elizabeth, her younger sister. Although the insurrection was unsuccessful, Mary had now become incensed and determined to have her way. One hundred of those who were implicated in the rebellion were executed. Mary's next Parliament consented to her marriage. But Philip never gained any great influence in England. By his marriage he acquired the title of "King," but the English took care that he should have no hand in the government nor be permitted to succeed his wife on the English throne. Philip seems to have had no love for his wife, however, and in about a year left England.

In 1554 Mary succeeded in reviving the old acts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries against heresy. She brought about also a momentary reconciliation between England and Rome. The papal legate, Cardinal Pole, was sent to England to restore the nation to the communion of the Roman Catholic Church. The queen, the king, and both houses of Parliament knelt before the cardinal (who represented the Pope) to confess the sin of the realm in having broken with the Church, and then received the papal absolution.

During the last four years of Mary's reign the most serious religious persecution in English history occurred. No less than two hundred and seventy-seven persons were put to death for denying the teachings of the Roman Church. The majority of the victims were humble artisans and husbandmen. The most notable sufferers were Bishops Latimer, Ridley, and Hooper, and Archbishop Cranmer, all of whom were burned at the stake. Latimer cried to his fellow martyr in the flames, "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle in England as shall never be put out!"

The order for the execution of Bishop Hooper gives a vivid idea of the bitterness of religious controversy in those days:

Whereas John Hooper, who of late was called bishop of Rochester and Gloucester, by due order of the laws ecclesiastic, condemned and judged for a most obstinate, false, detestable heretic, and committed to our secular power, to be burned according to the wholesome and good laws of our realm in that case provided; forasmuch as in those cities and the diocese thereof, he has in times past preached and taught most pestilent heresies and doctrine to our subjects there, we have therefore given order that the said Hooper, who yet persisteth obstinate, and hath refused mercy when it was graciously offered, shall be put to execution in the said city of Gloucester, for the example and terror of such as he has there seduced and mistaught, and because he has done most harm there. . . . And forasmuch also as the said Hooper is, as heretics be, a vainglorious person, and delighteth in his tongue, and having liberty, may use his said tongue to persuade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the miserable opinion that he hath sown among them, our pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither, at the time of his execution, nor in going to the place thereof, suffered to speak at large, but thither to be led quietly and in silence, for eschewing of further infection and such inconvenience as may otherwise ensue in this part. Wherefore fail not, as ye tender our pleasure.

Mary died in 1558. It was her consistent hope and belief that the heretics she had sent to the stake would furnish a terrible warning to the Protestants and check the spread of the new teachings, but it fell out as Latimer had prophesied. Catholicism was not promoted; on the contrary, doubters were only convinced of the earnestness of the Protestants who could die with such constancy.[1]

[1] The Catholics in their turn, it should be noted, suffered serious persecution under Elizabeth and James I, the Protestant successors of Mary. Death was the penalty fixed in many cases for those who obstinately refused to recognize the monarch as the rightful head of the English Church, and heavy fines were imposed for the failure to attend Protestant worship. Two hundred Catholic priests are said to have been executed under Elizabeth; others were tortured or perished miserably in prison.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SO-CALLED WARS OF RELIGION

The Catholic Reformation: the Council of Trent

There had been many attempts, as we have seen, before Luther's appearance, to better the clergy and remedy the evils in the Church without altering its organization or teachings. Hopeful progress toward such a conservative reform had been made even before the Protestants threw off their allegiance to the Pope.[1] Their revolt inevitably hastened and stimulated the reform of the ancient Church, to which the greater part of western Europe still remained faithful. The Roman Catholic churchmen were aroused to great activity by the realization that they could no longer rely upon the general acceptance of their teachings. They were forced to defend the beliefs and ceremonies of their Church from the attacks of the Protestants, to whose ranks whole countries were deserting. If the clergy were to make head against the dreaded heresy which threatened their position and power, they must secure the loyalty of the people to them and to the great institution which they represented, by leading upright lives, giving up the old abuses, and thus regaining the confidence of those intrusted to their spiritual care.

A general council was accordingly summoned at Trent to consider once more the remedying of the long-recognized evils and to settle authoritatively numerous questions of belief upon which theologians had differed for centuries. New religious orders sprang up, whose object was better to prepare the priests

[1] There is an admirable account of the spirit of the conservative reformers in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, chap. xviii. See also Preserved Smith's *Age of the Reformation*, chap. viii.

for their work and to bring home religion to the hearts of the people. Energetic measures were taken to repress the growth of heresy in countries which were still Roman Catholic and to prevent the dissemination of Protestant doctrines in books and pamphlets. Above all, better men were placed in office, from the Pope down. The cardinals, for example, were no longer merely humanists and courtiers, but among them might be found the leaders of religious thought in Italy. Many practices which had formerly irritated the people were permanently abolished. These measures resulted in a remarkable reformation of the ancient Church, such as the Council of Constance had striven in vain to bring about.[1] Before turning to the terrible struggles between the two religious parties in the Netherlands and France during the latter half of the sixteenth century, a word must be said of the *Council of Trent* and of an extraordinarily powerful new religious order, the Jesuits.

Charles V, who did not fully grasp the irreconcilable differences between Protestant and Catholic beliefs, made repeated efforts to bring the two parties together by ordering the Protestants to accept what seemed to him a simple statement of the Christian faith. He had great confidence that if representatives of the old and new beliefs could meet one another in a Church council, all points of disagreement might be amicably settled. The Pope was, however, reluctant to see a council summoned in Germany, for he had by no means forgotten the conduct of the Council of Basel. To call the German Protestants into Italy, on the other hand, would have been useless, for none of them would have responded or have paid any attention to the decisions of a body which would have appeared to them to be under the Pope's immediate control. It was only after years of delay that in 1545, just before Luther's death,

[1] Protestant writers commonly call the reformation of the medieval Catholic Church the "Counter-Reformation" or "Catholic reaction," as if Protestantism were entirely responsible for it. It is clear, however, that the conservative reform began some time before the Protestants revolted. Their secession from the Church only stimulated a movement already well under way.

a general council finally met in the city of Trent, on the border between Germany and Italy.

As the German Protestants were preoccupied at the moment by an approaching conflict with the Emperor and, moreover, hoped for nothing from the council's action, they did not attend its sessions. Consequently the papal representatives and the Roman Catholic prelates were masters of the situation. The council immediately took up just those matters in which the Protestants had departed farthest from the old beliefs. In its early sessions it proclaimed all those accursed who taught that the sinner was saved by faith alone or who questioned man's power, with God's aid, to forward his salvation by good works. Moreover, it declared that if anyone should say—as did the Protestants—that the sacraments were not all instituted by Christ; "or that they are more or less than seven, to wit, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Ordination, and Matrimony; or even that any one of these is not truly and properly a sacrament, let him be accursed." The ancient Latin translation of the Bible—the Vulgate—was fixed as the standard. No one should presume to question its accuracy so far as doctrine was concerned or be permitted to publish any interpretation of the Bible differing from that of the Church.

While the council thus finally rejected any possibility of compromise with the Protestants, it took measures to do away with the abuses of which the Protestants complained. The bishops were ordered to reside in their respective dioceses, to preach regularly, and to see that those who were appointed to Church benefices should fulfill the duties of their offices and not merely enjoy the revenue. Measures were also taken to improve education and secure the regular reading of the Bible in churches, monasteries, and schools.

When the council had been in session for somewhat more than a year, its meetings were interrupted by various unfavorable conditions. Little was accomplished for a number of

years; but in 1562 the members once more reassembled, to prosecute their work with renewed vigor. Many more of the doctrines of the Roman Church in regard to which there had been some uncertainty were carefully defined, and the teachings of the heretics explicitly rejected. A large number of decrees directed against existing abuses were also ratified. The canons and decrees of the Council of Trent, which fill a stout volume, provided a new and solid foundation for the law and doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church and constitute a historical source of the utmost importance.[1] They furnish, in fact, our most complete and authentic statement of the Roman Catholic form of Christianity. However, they only restate long-accepted beliefs and sanction the organization of the Church as described in Chapter XI.

There was a new danger to orthodoxy in the printing-press, of which heretics from Luther onward had made constant use. So the Council of Trent suggested that the papal officials compile a list of dangerous books which the faithful were not to read lest their convictions be unsettled. Soon after the council dissolved, the Pope issued the first *Index of Prohibited Books*, from which we derive our common saying "to put on the Index." From time to time a new edition has been prepared, but no attempt is now made to include all the Protestant and scientific works which are out of accord with Catholic teachings. The older lists contain, for the most part, bare names of writers who are altogether forgotten, and only now and then does one encounter persons of distinction, such as Dante (for his *On Monarchy*), Marsiglio of Padua, Erasmus (for many of his most interesting writings), Nicholas Machiavelli, "Lutherus," and a few other names that catch one's eye.

[1] They may be had in an English translation, *Decrees and Canons of the Council of Trent*, edited by the Reverend J. Waterworth. See extracts from the acts of the council in *Readings*, Vol. II, chap. xxviii.

The Society of Jesus

Among those who, during the final sessions of the council, sturdily opposed every attempt to reduce in any way the exalted powers of the Pope was the head of a new religious society, which was becoming the most powerful organization in Europe. The Jesuit order, or *Society of Jesus*, was founded by a Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola. He had been a soldier in his younger days and, while bravely fighting for his king, Charles V, had been wounded by a cannon ball (1521). Obliged to lie inactive for weeks, he occupied his time in reading the lives of the saints and became filled with a burning ambition to emulate their deeds. Upon recovering he dedicated himself to the service of the Lord, donned a beggar's gown, and started on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. When there he began to realize that he could do little without an education. The Church authorities in Jerusalem sent him back to Spain, and, although already thirty-three years old, he took his place beside the boys who were learning the elements of Latin grammar. After two years he entered a Spanish university, and later went to Paris to carry on his theological studies.

In Paris he sought to influence his fellow students at the university, and finally, in 1534, seven of his companions agreed to follow him to Palestine or, if they were prevented from that, to devote themselves to the service of the Pope. On arriving in Venice they found that war had broken out between that republic and the Turks. They accordingly gave up their plan for converting the infidels in the Orient and, with the Pope's permission, began to preach in the neighboring towns, explaining the Scriptures and bringing comfort to those in the hospitals. When asked to what order they belonged, they replied, "To the Society of Jesus."

In 1538 Loyola summoned his disciples to Rome, and there they worked out the principles of their order. The Pope then incorporated these in a bull in which he gave his sanction to

the new society.[1] The organization was to be under the absolute control of a *general*, who was to be chosen for life by the general assembly of the order. Loyola had been a soldier, and he laid great and constant stress upon the source of all efficient military discipline, namely, absolute and unquestioning obedience. This he declared to be the mother of all virtue and happiness. Not only were all the members to obey the Pope as Christ's representative on earth, and undertake without hesitation any journey, no matter how distant or perilous, which he might command, but each was to obey his superiors in the order as if he were receiving directions from Christ in person. He must have no will or preference of his own, but must be as the staff which supports and aids its bearer in any way in which he sees fit to use it. This admirable organization and incomparable discipline were the great secret of the later influence of the Jesuits.

The object of the society was to cultivate piety and the love of God, especially through example. The members were to pledge themselves to lead a pure life of poverty and devotion. Their humility was to show itself in face and attitude, so that their very appearance should attract to the service of God those with whom they came in contact. The methods adopted by the society for reaching its ends are of the utmost importance. A great number of its members were priests, who went about preaching, hearing confession, and encouraging devotional exercises. But the Jesuits were teachers as well as preachers and confessors. They clearly perceived the advantage of bringing young people under their influence, and they became the schoolmasters of Catholic Europe. So successful were their methods of instruction that even Protestants sometimes sent their children to them.

It was originally proposed that the number of persons admitted to the order should not exceed sixty, but this limit was speedily removed, and before the death of Loyola over a thou-

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, chap. xxviii.

sand persons had joined the society. Under his successor the number was trebled, and it went on increasing for two centuries. The founder of the order, as we have seen, had been attracted to missionary work from the first, and the Jesuits rapidly spread not only over Europe but throughout the whole world. Francis Xavier, one of Loyola's original little band, went to Hindustan, the Moluccas, and Japan. Brazil, Florida, Mexico, and Peru were soon fields of active missionary work at a time when Protestants scarcely dreamed as yet of carrying Christianity to the heathen. We owe to the Jesuits' reports much of our knowledge of the condition of America when white men first began to explore Canada and the Mississippi Valley, for the followers of Loyola boldly penetrated into regions unknown to Europeans and settled among the natives with the purpose of bringing the gospel to them.

Dedicated as they were to the service of the Pope, the Jesuits early directed their energies against Protestantism. They sent their members into Germany and the Netherlands and even made strenuous efforts to reclaim England. Their success was most apparent in southern Germany and Austria, where they became the confessors and confidential advisers of the rulers. They not only succeeded in checking the progress of Protestantism but were able to reconquer for the Pope districts in which the old faith had been abandoned.

Protestants soon realized that the new order was their most powerful and dangerous enemy. Their apprehensions produced a bitter hatred which blinded them to the high purposes of the founders of the order and led them to attribute an evil purpose to every act of the Jesuits. The Jesuits' air of humility the Protestants declared to be mere hypocrisy under which they carried on their intrigues. Their readiness to adjust themselves to circumstances and to the variety of the tasks that they undertook seemed to their enemies a willingness to resort to any means in order to reach their ends. They were popularly supposed to justify the most deceitful and immoral

measures on the ground that the result would be "for the greater glory of God." The very obedience of which the Jesuits said so much was viewed by the hostile Protestant as one of their worst offenses, for he believed that the members of the order were the blind tools of their superiors and that they would not hesitate even to commit a crime if so ordered.

Doubtless there have been many unscrupulous Jesuits and some wicked ones; and as time went on, the order degenerated, just as the earlier ones had done. In the eighteenth century it was accused of undertaking great commercial enterprises, and for this and other reasons lost the confidence of even the Catholics. The king of Portugal was the first to banish the Jesuits, and then France, where they had long been very unpopular with an influential party of the Catholics, expelled them in 1764. Convinced that the order could no longer serve any useful purpose, the Pope abolished it in 1773. It was, however, restored in 1814, and now again has thousands of members.

Philip II and the Revolt of the Netherlands

The chief ally of the Pope and of the Jesuits in their efforts to check Protestantism in the latter half of the sixteenth century was the son of Charles V, Philip II. Like the Jesuits he enjoys a most unenviable reputation among Protestants. Certain it is that they had no more terrible enemy among the rulers of the day than he. He closely watched the course of affairs in France and Germany with the hope of promoting the cause of the Catholics. He eagerly forwarded every conspiracy against England's Protestant queen, Elizabeth, and finally manned a mighty fleet with the purpose of overthrowing her. He resorted, moreover, to incredible cruelty in his attempts to bring back his possessions in the Netherlands to what he considered the true faith.

Charles V, crippled with the gout and old before his time, laid down the cares of government in 1555–1556. To his

brother Ferdinand, who had acquired by marriage the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, Charles had earlier transferred the German possessions of the Hapsburgs. To his son, Philip II (1556–1598), he gave Spain (with its great American colonies), Milan, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the Netherlands.[1]

Charles had constantly striven to maintain the old religion within his dominions. He had never hesitated to use the Inquisition in Spain and the Netherlands, and it was the great disappointment of his life that a part of his empire had become Protestant. He was, nevertheless, no fanatic. Like many of the princes of the time, he was forced to take sides on the religious question without, perhaps, himself having any deep religious sentiments. The maintenance of the Catholic faith he believed to be necessary in order that he should keep his hold upon his scattered and diverse dominions. On the other hand, the whole life and policy of his son Philip were guided by a fervent attachment to the old religion. He was willing to sacrifice both himself and his country in his long fight against the detested Protestants within and without his realms. And he had vast resources at his disposal, for Spain was a strong power, not only on account of her income from America but also because her soldiers and their commanders were the best in Europe at this period.

[1] The map of Europe in the sixteenth century (pages 352–353) indicates the vast extent of the combined possessions of the Spanish and German Hapsburgs. The following table shows the division of the Hapsburg possessions between these two branches:

Maximilian I (d. 1519), m. Mary of Burgundy (d. 1482)

Philip (d. 1506), m. Joanna the Insane (d. 1555)

Charles V (d. 1558), Emperor (1519–1556)	Ferdinand (d. 1564), m. Anna, heiress to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary Emperor (1556–1564)
Philip II (d. 1598), inherits Spain, the Netherlands, and the Italian possessions of the Hapsburgs	Maximilian II (d. 1576), Emperor; inherits Bohemia, Hungary, and the Austrian possessions of the Hapsburgs

The Netherlands, which were to cause Philip his first and greatest trouble, included seventeen provinces which Charles V had inherited from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy. They occupied the position on the map where we now find the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium. Each of the provinces had its own government, but Charles had grouped them together and arranged that the Holy Roman Empire should protect them. In the north the hardy Germanic population had been able, by means of dikes which kept out the sea, to reclaim large tracts of lowlands. Here considerable cities had grown up—Haarlem, Leiden, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam. To the south were the flourishing towns of Ghent, Bruges, Brussels, and Antwerp, which had for centuries been centers of manufacture and trade.

In spite of some very harsh measures Charles had retained the loyalty of the people of the Netherlands, for he was himself one of them, and they felt a patriotic pride in his achievements. Toward Philip their attitude was very different. His sour face and haughty manner made a disagreeable impression upon the people at Brussels when Charles V first introduced him to them as their future ruler. He was to them a Spaniard and a foreigner, and he ruled them as such after he returned to Spain. Instead of attempting to win them by meeting their legitimate demands, he did everything to alienate all classes in his Burgundian realm and to increase their natural hatred and suspicion of the Spaniards. The people were forced to house Spanish soldiers, whose insolence drove them nearly to desperation. A half-sister of the king, the duchess of Parma, who did not even know their language, was given to them as their regent. Philip put his trust in a group of upstarts rather than in the nobility of the provinces, who naturally felt that they should be given some part in the direction of affairs.

What was still worse, Philip proposed that the Inquisition should carry on its work far more actively than hitherto and put an end to the heresy which appeared to him to defile his fair realms. The Inquisition was no new thing to the provinces.

Charles V had issued the most cruel edicts against the followers of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. According to a law of 1550, heretics who persistently refused to recant were to be burned alive. Even those who confessed their errors and abjured their heresy were, if men, to lose their heads; if women, to be buried alive. In both cases their property was to be confiscated. The lowest estimate of those who were executed in the Netherlands during Charles's reign is fifty thousand. Although these terrible laws had not checked the growth of Protestantism, all of Charles's decrees were solemnly reënacted by Philip in the first month of his reign.

For ten years the people suffered Philip's rule; but their king, instead of listening to the protests of their leaders, who were quite as earnest Catholics as himself, appeared to be bent on the destruction of the land. So in 1566 some five hundred of the nobles, who were later joined by many of the citizens, pledged themselves to make a common stand against Spanish tyranny and the Inquisition. Although they had no idea as yet of a revolt, they planned a great demonstration during which they presented a petition to the duchess of Parma requesting the suspension of the king's edicts. The story is that one of the duchess's councilors assured her that she had no reason to fear these "beggars." This name was voluntarily assumed by the petitioners, and an important group of the insurgents in the later troubles were known as "Beggars."

The Protestant preachers now took courage, and large congregations gathered in the fields to hear them. Excited by their exhortations, those who were converted to the new religion rushed into the Catholic churches, tore down the images, broke the stained-glass windows, and wrecked the altars. The duchess of Parma was just succeeding in quieting the tumult when Philip took a step which led finally to the revolt of the Netherlands. He decided to dispatch to the Low Countries the remorseless duke of Alva, whose conduct has made his name synonymous with blind and unmeasured cruelty.

The report that Alva was coming caused the flight of many of those who especially feared his approach. William of Orange, who was to be the leader in the approaching war against Spain, went to Germany. Thousands of Flemish weavers fled across the North Sea, and the products of their looms became before long an important article of export from England.

Alva brought with him a fine army of Spanish soldiers, ten thousand in number and superbly equipped. He judged that the wisest and quickest way of pacifying the discontented provinces was to kill all those who ventured to criticize "the best of kings," of whom he had the honor to be the faithful servant. He accordingly established a special court for the speedy trial and condemnation of all those whose fidelity to Philip was suspected. This was popularly known as the "Council of Blood," for its aim was not justice but butchery. Alva's administration from 1567 to 1573 was a veritable reign of terror. He afterward boasted that he had slain eighteen thousand, but probably not more than a third of that number were really executed.

The Netherlands found a leader in William, Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau. He is a national hero whose career bears a certain resemblance to that of Washington. Like the American patriot, he undertook the seemingly hopeless task of freeing his people from the oppressive rule of a distant king. But the basis of the complaints of the American colonists against King George III was certainly slight compared with the woes the Netherlands suffered at the hands of Philip. To the Spaniards William of Orange appeared to be only an impoverished nobleman at the head of a handful of armed peasants and fishermen contending against the sovereign of the richest realm in the world.

William had been a faithful servant of Charles V, and would gladly have continued to serve Charles's son Philip had the oppression and injustice of the Spanish dominion not become intolerable. But Alva's policy convinced him that it was useless to send any more complaints to Philip. Accordingly, in 1568, he

collected a little army and opened the long struggle with Spain which resulted finally in the creation of the Dutch Republic.

William found his main support in the northern provinces, of which Holland was the chief. The Dutch, who had very generally accepted Protestant teachings, were German in blood, whereas the people of the southern provinces, who adhered (as they still do) to the Roman Catholic faith, were more akin to the population of northern France.

The Spanish soldiers found little trouble in defeating the troops which William collected. Like Washington again, he seemed to lose almost every battle and yet was never conquered. The first successes of the Dutch were gained by the "sea beggars"—freebooters who captured Spanish ships and sold them in Protestant England. Finally they seized the town of Brille and made it their headquarters. Encouraged by this, many of the towns in the northern provinces of Holland and Zealand ventured to choose William as their governor, although they did not throw off their allegiance to Philip. In this way these two provinces became the nucleus of the United Netherlands.

Alva recaptured a number of the revolted towns and treated their inhabitants with his customary cruelty; even women and children were slaughtered in cold blood. But instead of quenching the rebellion, he aroused even the Catholic southern provinces to revolt. He introduced an unwise system of taxation which required that 10 per cent of the proceeds of every sale should be paid to the government. This caused the thrifty Catholic merchants of the southern towns to close their shops in despair.

After six years of this tyrannical and mistaken policy Alva was recalled. His successor soon died and left matters worse than ever. The leaderless soldiers, trained in Alva's school, indulged in wild orgies of robbery and murder; they plundered and partially reduced to ashes the rich city of Antwerp. The "Spanish fury," as this outbreak was called, together with the

hated taxes, created such general indignation that representatives from all Philip's Burgundian provinces met at Ghent in 1576 with the purpose of combining to put an end to the Spanish tyranny.

This union was, however, only temporary. Wiser and more moderate governors were sent by Philip to the Netherlands, and they soon succeeded in again winning the confidence of the southern provinces. So the northern provinces went their own way. Guided by William the Silent, they refused to consider the idea of again recognizing Philip as their king. In 1579 seven provinces (Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, Groningen, and Friesland, all lying north of the mouths of the Rhine and the Scheldt) formed the Union of Utrecht. The articles of this union served as a constitution for the United Provinces which, two years later, at last formally declared themselves independent of Spain.

Philip realized that William was the soul of the revolt, and that without him it might probably have been put down. The king therefore offered a patent of nobility and a large sum of money to anyone who should make away with the Dutch patriot. After several unsuccessful attempts William, who had been chosen hereditary governor of the United Provinces, was shot in his house at Delft, in 1584. He died praying the Lord to have pity upon his soul and "on this poor people."[1]

The Dutch had long hoped for aid from Queen Elizabeth or from the French, but had heretofore been disappointed. At last the English queen decided to send troops to their assistance. Although the English rendered but little actual help, Elizabeth's policy so enraged Philip that he at last decided to attempt the conquest of England. The destruction of the great

[1] It is impossible in so brief an account to relate the heroic deeds of the Dutch; such, for example, as the famous defense of Leiden. The American historian Motley gives a vivid description of this in his well-known *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Part IV, chap. ii. Miss Ruth Putnam's charming *William the Silent*, with its many fine illustrations, gives an impressive picture of the tremendous odds which he faced and of his marvelous patience and perseverance.

fleet which he equipped for that purpose interfered with further attempts to subjugate the United Provinces, which might otherwise have failed to preserve their liberty in spite of their heroic resistance. Moreover, Spain's resources were being rapidly exhausted, and the state was on the verge of bankruptcy in spite of the wealth which it had been drawing from across the sea. But even when Spain had to surrender the hope of winning back the lost provinces, which now became a small but important European power, she refused formally to acknowledge their independence until 1648 (the Peace of Westphalia).

The Huguenot Wars; Henry IV

The history of France during the latter part of the sixteenth century is little more than a chronicle of a long and bloody series of civil wars between the Catholics and Protestants. Each party, however, had political as well as religious objects, and the religious issues were often almost altogether obscured by the wordly ambition of the leaders.

Protestantism began in France in much the same way as in England. Those who had learned from the Italians to love the Greek language turned to the New Testament in the original and commenced to study it with new insight. Lefèvre, the most conspicuous of these Erasmus-like reformers, translated the Bible from Latin into French and began to preach justification by faith before he had ever heard of Luther. He and his followers won the favor of Margaret, the sister of Francis I and queen of the little kingdom of Navarre, and under her protection they were left unmolested for some years. The Sorbonne, the famous theological school at Paris, soon condemned Luther and Erasmus and stirred up the suspicions of the king against the new ideas. Although, like his fellow monarchs, Francis had no special interest in religious matters, he was shocked by an act of desecration ascribed to the Protestants, and in consequence forbade the circulation of Protestant books. About

1535 several adherents of the new faith were burned; and Calvin was forced to flee to Basel, where he prepared a defense of his beliefs in his *Institute of Christianity*. This is prefaced by a letter to Francis in which he pleads with him to protect the Protestants.[1] Before his death Francis became so intolerant that he ordered the massacre of three thousand defenseless peasants who dwelt on the slopes of the Alps, and whose only offense was adherence to the simple teachings of the Waldenses.[2]

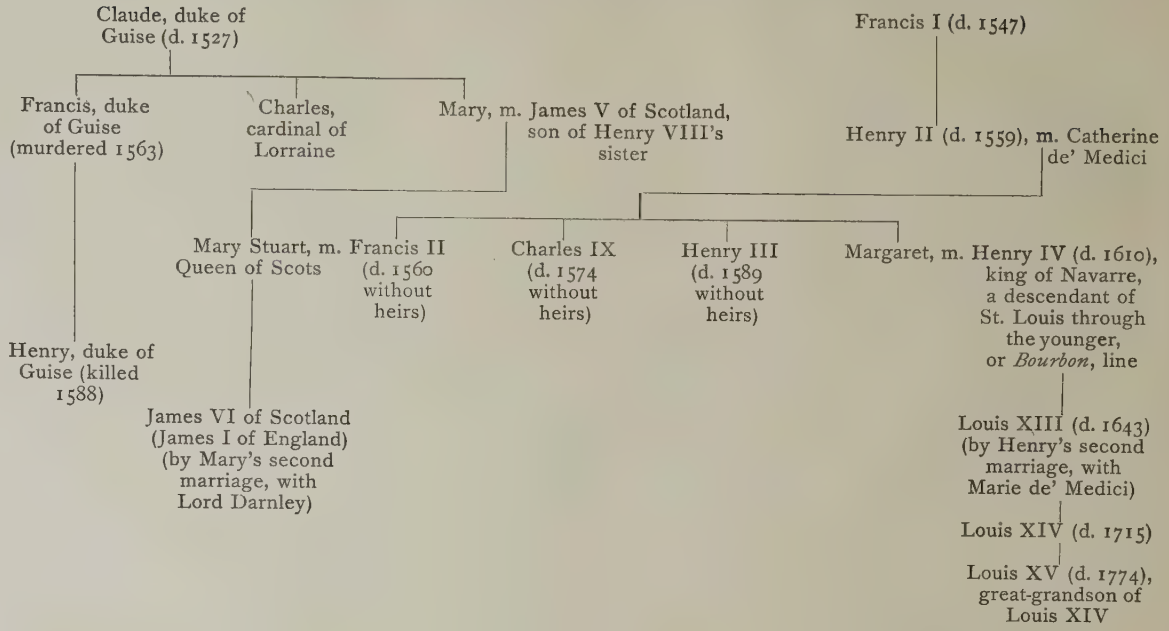
His son, Henry II (1547–1559), swore to extirpate the Protestants, and hundreds of them were burned. Nevertheless, Henry's religious convictions did not prevent him from willingly aiding the German Protestants against his enemy Charles V, especially when they agreed to hand over to him three bishoprics which lay on the French boundary—Metz, Verdun, and Toul.

Henry II was accidentally killed in a tourney. He left his kingdom to three weak sons, the last scions of the House of Valois, who succeeded in turn to the throne during a period of unprecedented civil war and public calamity. The eldest son, Francis II, a boy of sixteen, succeeded his father. His chief importance for France arose from his marriage with the daughter of King James V of Scotland, Mary Stuart, who became famous as Mary Queen of Scots. Her mother was the sister of two very ambitious French nobles, the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine. Francis II was so young that Mary's uncles, the Guises, eagerly seized the opportunity to manage his affairs for him. The duke put himself at the head of the army, and the cardinal at the head of the government. When the king died, after reigning but a year, the Guises were naturally reluctant to surrender their power, and many of the woes of France for the next forty years were due to the machinations which they carried on in the name of the Holy Catholic religion.

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, chap. xxviii.

[2] See page 244.

RELATIONS OF THE GUISES, MARY STUART, THE VALOIS, AND THE BOURBONS


Claude, duke of Guise (d. 1527)
Francis I (d. 1547)
Francis, duke of Guise (murdered 1563)
Charles, cardinal of Lorraine
Mary, m. James V of Scotland, son of Henry VIII's sister
Henry II (d. 1559), m. Catherine de' Medici
Mary Stuart, m. Queen of Scots
Francis II (d. 1560 without heirs)
Charles IX (d. 1574 without heirs)
Henry III (d. 1589 without heirs)
Margaret, m. Henry IV (d. 1610), king of Navarre, a descendant of St. Louis through the younger, or Bourbon, line
Henry, duke of Guise (killed 1588)
James VI of Scotland (James I of England) (by Mary's second marriage, with Lord Darnley)
Louis XIII (d. 1643) (by Henry's second marriage, with Marie de' Medici)
Louis XIV (d. 1715)
Louis XV (d. 1774), great-grandson of Louis XIV

The new king, Charles IX (1560–1574), was but ten years old, and his mother, Catherine de' Medici, of the famous Florentine family, claimed the right to conduct the government for her son. The rivalries of the time were complicated by the existence of a younger branch of the French royal family; namely, the Bourbons, one of whom was king of Navarre. The Bourbons formed an alliance with the *Huguenots*,[1] as the French Calvinists were called.

Many of the leading Huguenots, including their chief, Coligny, belonged to noble families and were anxious to play a part in the politics of the time. This fact tended to confuse religious with political motives. In the long run this mixture of motives proved fatal to the Protestant cause in France; but for the time being, the Huguenots formed so strong a party that they threatened to get control of the government.

Catherine tried at first to conciliate both parties, and granted a Decree of Toleration (1562) suspending the former edicts against the Protestants and permitting them to assemble for worship during the daytime and outside the towns. Even this restricted toleration of the Protestants appeared an abomination to the more fanatical Catholics, and a savage act of the duke of Guise precipitated civil war.

As he was passing through the town of Vassy on a Sunday he found a thousand Huguenots assembled in a barn for worship. The duke's followers rudely interrupted the service, and a tumult arose in which the troops killed a considerable number of the defenseless multitude. The news of this massacre aroused the Huguenots and was the beginning of a war which continued, broken only by short truces, until the last weak descendant of the House of Valois ceased to reign. As in the other religious wars, both sides exhibited inhuman cruelty. France was filled for a generation with burnings, pillage, and every form of barbarity, and renewed in civil war all the horrors of the English invasion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

[1] The origin of this name is uncertain.

In 1570 a brief peace was concluded. The Huguenots were to be tolerated; and certain towns were assigned to them, including La Rochelle, where they might defend themselves in case of renewed attacks from the Catholics. For a time both the king and the queen mother were on the friendliest terms with the Huguenot leader Coligny, who became a sort of prime minister. He was anxious that Catholics and Protestants should join in a great national war against Spain. In this way the people of France would combine, regardless of their differences in religion, in a patriotic effort to win the county of Burgundy and a line of fortresses to the north and east, which seemed naturally to belong to France rather than to Spain. Coligny did not, of course, overlook the consideration that in this way he could aid the Protestant cause in the Netherlands.

The strict Catholic party of the Guises frustrated this plan by a most fearful expedient. They easily induced Catherine de' Medici to believe that she was being deceived by Coligny, and an assassin was engaged to put him out of the way; but the scoundrel missed his aim and only wounded his victim. Fearful lest the young king, who was faithful to Coligny, should discover her part in the attempted murder, the queen mother invented a story of a great Huguenot conspiracy. The credulous king was deceived; and the Catholic leaders at Paris arranged that at a given signal not only Coligny but all the Huguenots, who had gathered in great numbers in the city to witness the marriage of the Protestant Henry of Navarre with the king's sister, should be massacred on the eve of St. Bartholomew's Day (August 23, 1572).

The signal was duly given, and no less than two thousand persons were ruthlessly murdered in Paris before the end of the next day. The news of this attack spread into the provinces, and it is probable that, at the very least, ten thousand more Protestants were put to death outside the capital. Both the Pope and Philip II expressed their gratification at this signal example of French loyalty to the Church. Civil war again

broke out; and the Catholics formed the famous Holy League, under the leadership of Henry of Guise, for the advancement of their interests and the extirpation of heresy.

Henry III (1574–1589), the last of the sons of Henry II, who succeeded Charles IX, had no heirs, and the great question of succession arose. The Huguenot Henry of Navarre was the nearest male relative; but the League could never consent to permit the throne of France to be sullied by heresy, especially as its head, Henry of Guise, was himself anxious to become king.

Henry III was driven weakly from one party to the other, and it finally came to a war between the three Henrys—Henry III, Henry of Navarre, and Henry of Guise (1585–1589). The struggle ended in a characteristic way. Henry the king had Henry of Guise assassinated. The sympathizers of the League then assassinated Henry the king, which left the field to Henry of Navarre. He ascended the throne in 1589, as Henry IV, and is a heroic figure in the line of French kings.

The new king had many enemies, and his kingdom was devastated and demoralized by years of war. He soon saw that he must accept the religion of the majority of his people if he wished to reign over them. He accordingly asked to be readmitted to the Catholic Church (1593), excusing himself, as the story goes, on the ground that "Paris was worth a Mass." He did not forget his old friends, however, and in 1598 he issued the Edict of Nantes.

By this edict of toleration the Calvinists were permitted to hold services in all the towns and villages where they had previously held them, but in Paris and two hundred towns all Protestant services were prohibited. The Protestants were to enjoy the same political rights as Catholics and to be eligible to public office. A number of fortified towns were to remain in the hands of the Huguenots, among them La Rochelle, Montauban, and Nîmes. Henry's only mistake lay in granting the Huguenots the exceptional privilege of holding and governing

fortified towns. In the next generation this privilege aroused the suspicion of the king's minister, Richelieu, who attacked the Huguenots not so much on religious grounds as on account of their independent position in the State, which suggested that of the older feudal nobles.

Henry IV chose Sully, an upright and able Calvinist, for his chief minister. Sully set to work to reëstablish the kingly power, which had suffered greatly under the last three brothers of the House of Valois. He undertook to lighten the tremendous burden of debt which weighed upon the country; he laid out new roads and canals and encouraged agriculture and commerce; he dismissed the useless noblemen and officers whom the government was supporting without any advantage to itself. Had his administration not been prematurely interrupted, France might have reached unprecedented power and prosperity; but religious fanaticism put an end to his reforms.

In 1610 Henry IV, like William the Silent, was assassinated just in the midst of his greatest usefulness to his country. Sully could not agree with the regent, Henry's widow, and retired to his castle, where he dictated his memoirs, which give a remarkable account of the stirring times in which he had played so important a part. Before many years Richelieu, perhaps the greatest minister France has ever had, rose to power, and from 1624 to his death in 1642 he governed France for Henry's son, Louis XIII (1610–1643). Something will be said of his policy in connection with the Thirty Years' War.

Elizabeth and the Religious Question

The long and disastrous civil war between Catholics and Protestants, which desolated France in the sixteenth century, had happily no counterpart in England. During her long and wise reign Queen Elizabeth succeeded not only in maintaining peace at home but in repelling the attacks which threatened her realm from without.

A wealthy middle class was growing up in England who made their money in sheep-raising, manufacture, and commerce. English trade was greatly extended; and the bold mariners of Elizabeth's time sailed about the whole globe, seeking new routes, capturing Spanish ships, plundering Spanish colonies, and sometimes engaging in the horrible traffic in negro slaves, which they seized in Africa and sold in the Americas.

Houses were made much more comfortable by the construction of chimneys, which had hitherto been rare. Window glass began to be common, too. Mattresses and pillows took the place of the straw pallets and wooden billets formerly used. Those who had the means wore very fine clothes. Wines were imported from the Continent, and tobacco was introduced; but tea and coffee were still unknown in England. Pewter plates and spoons began to replace wooden ones. People continued, however, to eat with knives or with their fingers, for forks did not come into use until later.

Although sheep-raising made a few rich, it impoverished many small farmers whose land fell into the hands of those who inclosed it for grazing tracts. The "inclosures" included also stretches of "commons," on which farmers and laborers had formerly pastured their animals free of charge. The inclosures caused great hardship during the whole sixteenth century, and paupers and tramps so increased that laws had to be passed to provide food and shelter for them. The poor-law enacted at the close of Elizabeth's reign was in force down to the nineteenth century.

Elizabeth's reign was celebrated for its great writers, such as Shakespeare, Bacon, and Spenser. Poetry, the drama, and science all flourished.

Upon the death of the Catholic queen Mary and the accession of her sister Elizabeth, in 1558, the English government once more became Protestant, and the Church of England was given the form that it has retained down to the present day.

Although there were many dangers involved in making the change, since the Catholic party was strong among the nobles and the higher clergy, it was natural that Elizabeth should favor the non-papal church which had sanctioned her mother's marriage to her father, Henry VIII, and thus made her succession to the throne legitimate.

Undoubtedly a great majority of Elizabeth's subjects would have been satisfied to have her return to the policy of her father. They still venerated the Mass and the other ancient ceremonies, although they had no desire to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope over their country. On the other hand, there was an increasing number of Protestants, and it was plainly impossible to find a form of religion which would satisfy all her subjects.

Elizabeth and her advisers therefore decided upon a middle course (*via media*), in the interest of peace and, above all, the safety of the realm. They determined to reëstablish the government of the Church as it had been under Henry VIII, and the form of service which had been adopted by Edward VI. Elizabeth's first Parliament passed an Act of Supremacy repealing all those statutes of Mary which for a time had "brought the realm under a usurped power," and restoring all "rights, jurisdictions, and preëminences appertaining to the imperial crown of the realm." The Heresy Acts were once more made "utterly void and of none effect," as well as all other religious statutes of Mary. All the acts of Henry VIII which had brought about a complete separation from Rome were renewed, and an oath was prescribed which declared that Her Highness was the "only supreme governor of this realm—as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal, and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate has, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm."

This oath was required of every archbishop, bishop, or other ecclesiastical officer, every civil officer, and every person

having Her Highness's "fee or wages." Failure to take the oath incurred the forfeiture of "ecclesiastical promotion, benefice, and office, and the whole tithe, interest, and incumbency of these—as though the party so refusing were dead." Those who acknowledged any foreign authority were for the third offense to be judged guilty of high treason and to suffer death.

Parliament passed also an Act of Uniformity, which brought back Edward VI's Book of Common Prayer and restored, with some modifications, the order of service and the administration of the sacraments which had been adopted during his reign. The act provided that for using any other form of service or for speaking in derogation of the Prayer Book one should for the third offense suffer imprisonment for life. Every person was required to attend church on Sundays and holy days under pain of censure and a fine, to be given to the poor. Some years later the Forty-two Articles of Edward were reduced to the Thirty-nine Articles, and these embody an important part of the doctrines of the Church of England at the present time.

The Anglican Church thus became a *national* institution controlled by the queen and Parliament, with its services prescribed by law. Conformity to the State Church was a *political* duty and was regarded as an indispensable evidence of loyalty to the monarch. The Church occupied a position midway between the Roman Catholic Church and the extreme Protestant organization. While it rejected the headship of the Pope and the celebration of the Mass, it kept the organization under archbishops, bishops, and deans; it had a prescribed form of service, and it retained certain ceremonies of the older Church, among them the wearing of the surplice and cap by the clergy.

The extreme Protestants, therefore, as well as the Catholics, were dissatisfied with the compromise. Those who wished to introduce a much simpler form of service and to get as far away as possible from the "popish rites" of the medieval Church were irritated by the ceremonial of the State religion and came

to be called Puritans, from their insistence on a "purer form of worship." The Catholics, on the other hand, did not wish to break with the Pope nor to give up the religion which they revered. All the bishops, however, who refused to take the oath required by the Act of Supremacy were deposed, and new bishops put in their places. For some time Elizabeth was very lenient in enforcing conformity; but when the Catholics became involved in plots against her throne and her life, her policy changed, as we shall see.

Elizabeth and Mary Stuart

Elizabeth's position in regard to the religious question was first threatened by events in Scotland. There, shortly after her accession, the ancient Church was abolished, largely in the interest of the nobles, who were anxious to get the lands of the bishops into their own hands and enjoy the revenue from them. John Knox, a veritable second Calvin in his stern energy, secured the introduction of the Presbyterian form of faith and church government, which still prevails in Scotland.

In 1561 the Scotch queen, Mary Stuart, whose French husband, Francis II, had just died, landed at Leith. She was but nineteen years old, of great beauty, and, by reason of her Catholic faith and French training, almost a foreigner to her subjects. Her grandmother was a sister of Henry VIII, and Mary claimed to be the rightful heiress to the English throne should Elizabeth die childless. Consequently the beautiful Queen of Scots became the hope of all those, including Philip II and Mary's relatives, the Guises, who wished to bring England and Scotland back to the Roman Catholic faith.

Mary made no effort to undo the work of John Knox, but she quickly discredited herself with both Protestants and Catholics by her conduct. After marrying her second cousin, Lord Darnley, she discovered that he was a dissolute scapegrace and came to despise him. She then formed an attachment for a

reckless nobleman named Bothwell. The house near Edinburgh in which the wretched Darnley was lying ill was blown up one night with gunpowder, and he was killed. The public suspected that both Bothwell and the queen were implicated. How far Mary was responsible for her husband's death no one can be sure. It is certain that she later married Bothwell and that her indignant subjects thereupon deposed her as a murderess. After fruitless attempts to regain her power she abdicated in favor of her infant son, James VI, and then fled to England to appeal to Elizabeth. While the prudent Elizabeth denied the right of the Scotch to depose their queen, she took good care to keep her rival practically a prisoner.

As time went on, it became increasingly difficult for Elizabeth to adhere to her policy of moderation in the treatment of the Catholics. A rising in the north of England (1569) showed that there were many who would gladly reëstablish the Catholic faith by freeing Mary and placing her on the English throne. This was followed by the excommunication of Elizabeth by the Pope, who at the same time absolved her subjects from their allegiance to their heretical ruler. Happily for Elizabeth, the rebels could look for no help either from Alva or the French king. The Spaniards had their hands full, for the war in the Netherlands had just begun; and Charles IX, who had accepted Coligny as his adviser, was at that moment in hearty accord with the Huguenots. The rising in the North was suppressed, but the English Catholics continued to harbor treasonable designs and to look to Philip for help. They opened correspondence with Alva and invited him to come with six thousand Spanish troops to dethrone Elizabeth and make Mary Stuart queen of England in her stead. Alva hesitated, for he characteristically thought that it would be better to kill Elizabeth or at least capture her. Meanwhile the plot was discovered and came to naught.

Although Philip found himself unable to harm England, the English mariners, like the Dutch "sea beggars," caused great

loss to Spain. In spite of the fact that Spain and England were not openly at war, the English seamen extended their operations as far as the West Indies and seized Spanish treasure ships, with the firm conviction that in robbing Philip and enriching themselves they were serving God. The daring Sir Francis Drake ventured even into the Pacific, where only the Spaniards had gone heretofore, and carried off much booty on his little vessel, the *Pelican*. At last he took "a great vessel with jewels in plenty, thirteen chests of silver coin, eighty pounds weight of gold, and twenty-six tons of silver." He then sailed around the world, and on his return presented his jewels to Elizabeth, who paid little attention to the expostulations of the king of Spain.[1]

One hope of the Catholics has not yet been mentioned; namely, Ireland, whose relations with England from very early times down to the present day form one of the most cheerless pages in the history of Europe. Ireland was no longer, as it had been in the time of Gregory the Great, a center of culture.[2] The population was divided into numerous clans, and their chieftains fought constantly with one another as well as with the English, who were vainly endeavoring to subjugate the island. Under Henry II and later kings England had conquered a district in the eastern part of Ireland, and here the English managed to maintain a foothold in spite of the anarchy outside. Henry VIII had suppressed a revolt of the Irish and assumed the title of "King of Ireland." Mary had hoped to promote better relations by colonizing Kings County and Queens County with Englishmen. This led, however, to a long struggle which ended only when the colonists had killed all the natives in the district they occupied.

Elizabeth's interest in the perennial Irish question was stimulated by the probability that Ireland might become a basis

[1] For English mariners and their voyages and conflicts with Spain see Froude's *English Seamen in the Fifteenth Century*. See also E. J. Payne's *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen to America*.

[2] See page 78.

for Catholic operations, since Protestantism had made little progress among its simple and half-barbarous people. Her fears were realized. Several attempts were made by Catholic leaders to land troops in Ireland with the purpose of making the island the base for an attack on England. Elizabeth's officers were able to frustrate these enterprises, but the resulting disturbances greatly increased the misery of the Irish. In 1582 no less than thirty thousand people are said to have perished, chiefly from starvation.

As Philip's troops began to get the better of the opposition in the southern Netherlands, the prospect of sending a Spanish army to England grew brighter. Two Jesuits were sent to England in 1580 to strengthen the adherents of their faith, and were supposed to be urging them to assist the foreign force against their queen when it should come. Parliament now grew more intolerant and ordered fines and imprisonment to be inflicted on those who said or heard Mass or who refused to attend the English services. One of the Jesuits was cruelly tortured and executed for treason, but the other escaped to the Continent.

In the spring of 1582 the first attempt to assassinate the heretical queen was made at Philip's instigation. It was proposed that when Elizabeth was out of the way the duke of Guise should see that an army was sent to England in the interest of the Catholics. But Guise was kept busy at home by the War of the Three Henrys, and Philip was left to undertake the invasion of England by himself.

Mary did not live to witness the attempt. She became implicated in another plot for the assassination of Elizabeth. Parliament now realized that as long as Mary lived Elizabeth's life was in constant danger; whereas, if Mary were out of the way, Philip would have no interest in the death of Elizabeth, since Mary's son, James VI of Scotland, was a Protestant. Elizabeth was therefore reluctantly persuaded by her advisers, in 1587, to sign a warrant for Mary's execution.

The Defeat of the Spanish Armada

Philip by no means gave up his project of reclaiming Protestant England. In 1588 he brought together a great fleet, including his best and largest warships, which was proudly called by the Spaniards the "Invincible Armada" (that is, fleet). This was to sail up the Channel to Flanders and bring over the duke of Parma and his veterans, who, it was expected, would soon make an end of Elizabeth's raw militia. The English ships were inferior to those of Spain in size, although not in number, but they had trained commanders, such as Drake and Hawkins. These famous captains had long sailed the Spanish Main and knew how to use their cannon without getting near enough to the Spaniards to suffer from their short-range weapons. When the Armada approached, it was permitted by the English fleet to pass up the Channel before a strong wind, which later became a storm. The English ships then followed, and both fleets were driven past the coast of Flanders. Of the hundred and twenty Spanish ships only fifty-four returned home; the rest had been destroyed by English valor or by the gale (to which Elizabeth herself ascribed the victory). The defeat of the Armada put an end to the danger from Spain.

As we look back over the period covered by the reign of Philip II, it is clear that it was a most notable one in the history of the Catholic Church. When he ascended the throne, Germany, as well as Switzerland and the Netherlands, had become largely Protestant. England, however, under his Catholic wife, Mary, seemed to be turning back to the old religion, and the French monarchs showed no inclination to tolerate the heretical Calvinists. Moreover, the new and enthusiastic order of the Jesuits promised to be a potent agency in inducing the disaffected people to accept once more the supremacy of the Pope and the doctrines of the ancient Church as formulated by the Council of Trent. The tremendous power and apparently

boundless resources of Spain itself—which were viewed by the rest of Europe with the gravest apprehension, not to say terror—Philip was willing to dedicate to the extirpation of heresy in his own dominions and to the destruction of Protestantism throughout western Europe.

When Philip died, all was changed. England was permanently Protestant; the "Invincible Armada" had been miserably wrecked, and Philip's plan for bringing England once more within the fold of the Roman Catholic Church was forever frustrated. In France the terrible wars of religion were over; and a powerful king, lately a Protestant himself, was on the throne, who not only tolerated the Protestants but chose one of them for his chief minister, and would brook no more meddling of Spain in French affairs. A new Protestant state, the United Netherlands, had actually appeared within the bounds of the realm bequeathed to Philip by his father. In spite of its small size this state was destined to play, from that time on, quite as important a part in European affairs as the harsh Spanish stepmother from whose control it had escaped.

Spain itself had suffered most of all from Philip's reign. His domestic policy and his expensive wars had weakened a country which had never been intrinsically strong. The income from across the sea was bound to decrease as the mines were exhausted. The final expulsion of the industrious Moors, shortly after Philip's death, left the indolent Spaniards to till their own fields, which rapidly declined in fertility under their careless cultivation. Poverty was deemed no disgrace, but manual labor was. Someone once ventured to tell a Spanish king that "not gold and silver but sweat is the most precious metal, a coin which is always current and never depreciates"; but it was a rare form of currency in the Spanish peninsula. After Philip II's death Spain sank to the rank of a secondary European power.

Opening of the Thirty Years' War

The last great conflict caused by the differences between the Catholics and Protestants was fought out in Germany during the first half of the seventeenth century. It is generally known as the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), though it was in reality a series of wars; and while the fighting was done upon German territory, Sweden, France, and Spain played quite as important a part as Germany.

Just before the abdication of Charles V the Lutheran princes had forced the Emperor to acknowledge their right to their own religion and to the Church property which they had appropriated. The religious Peace of Augsburg had, however, as we have seen,[1] two great weaknesses. In the first place, only those Protestants who held the Lutheran faith were to be tolerated. The Calvinists, who were increasing in numbers, were not included in the peace. In the second place, it did not put a stop to the seizure of Church property by the Protestant princes.

During the last years of Ferdinand I's reign and that of his successor there was little trouble. Protestantism, however, made rapid progress and invaded Bavaria, the Austrian possessions, and above all, Bohemia, where the doctrines of Huss had never died out. So it looked for a time as if even the German Hapsburgs were to see large portions of their territory falling away from the old Church. But the Catholics had in the Jesuits a band of active and efficient missionaries. They not only preached and founded schools but also succeeded in gaining the confidence of some of the German princes, whose chief advisers they became. Conditions were very favorable, at the opening of the seventeenth century, for a renewal of the religious struggle.

The Lutheran town of Donauwörth permitted the existence of a monastery within its limits. In 1607 a Protestant mob attacked the monks as they were passing in procession through

[1] See pages 434–435.

the streets. Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, an ardent Catholic, on the border of whose possessions the town lay, gladly undertook to punish this outrage. His army entered Donauwörth, reëstablished the Catholic worship, and drove out the Lutheran pastor. This event led to the formation of the Protestant Union, under the leadership of Frederick, elector of the Palatinate. The Union included by no means all the Protestant princes; for example, the Lutheran elector of Saxony refused to have anything to do with the Calvinistic Frederick. The next year the Catholics, on their part, formed the Catholic League, under a far more efficient head, namely, Maximilian of Bavaria.

These were the preliminaries of the Thirty Years' War. Hostilities began in Bohemia, which had been added to the Hapsburg possessions through the marriage of Ferdinand I. The Protestants were so strong in that country that they had forced the Emperor in 1609 to grant them privileges greater even than those enjoyed by the Huguenots in France. The government, however, failed to observe this agreement, and the destruction of two Protestant churches resulted in a revolution at Prague in 1618. Three representatives of the Emperor were seized by the irritated Bohemian leaders and thrown out of the window of the palace. After this emphatic protest against the oppressive measures of the government, Bohemia endeavored to establish itself once more as an independent kingdom.[1] It renounced the rule of the Hapsburgs and chose Frederick, the elector of the Palatinate, as its new king. He appeared to the Bohemians to possess a double advantage: in the first place, he was the head of the Protestant Union, and, in the second place, he was the son-in-law of the king of England, James I, to whom they looked for help.

The Bohemian venture proved a most disastrous one for Germany and for Protestantism. The new emperor, Ferdi-

[1] This century-long ambition of Bohemia to appear on the map of Europe as an independent state was finally realized as a result of the World War.

nand II (1619–1637), who was at once an uncompromising Catholic and a person of considerable ability, appealed to the League for assistance. Frederick, the new king of Bohemia, showed himself entirely unequal to the occasion. He and his English wife, the Princess Elizabeth, made a bad impression on the Bohemians, and they failed to gain the support of the neighboring Lutheran elector of Saxony. A single battle, which the army of the League under Maximilian won in 1620, put to flight the poor "winter king," as he was derisively called on account of his reign of a single season. The Emperor and the duke of Bavaria set vigorously to work to suppress Protestantism within their borders. The Emperor arbitrarily granted the eastern portion of the Palatinate to Maximilian and gave him the title of "elector," without consulting the diet.

Matters were becoming serious for the Protestant party, and England might have intervened had it not been that James I believed that he could by his personal influence restore peace to Europe and induce the Emperor and Maximilian of Bavaria to give back the Palatinate to his son-in-law, the "winter king." Even France might have taken a hand; for although Richelieu, then at the head of affairs, had no love for the Protestants, he was still more bitterly opposed to the Hapsburgs. However, he was otherwise occupied for the moment, for he was just undertaking to deprive the Huguenots of their strong towns.

A diversion came, nevertheless, from without. Christian IV, king of Denmark, invaded northern Germany in 1625 with a view to relieving his fellow Protestants. In addition to the army of the League which was dispatched against him, a new army was organized by the notorious commander Wallenstein. The Emperor was poor and gladly accepted the offer of this ambitious Bohemian nobleman[1] to collect an army which should support itself upon the proceeds of the war, to wit, confiscation and robbery. Christian met with two serious de-

[1] Wallenstein (b. 1583) had been educated in the Catholic faith, although he came of a family with Hussite sympathies.

feats in northern Germany; even his peninsula was invaded by the imperial forces, and in 1629 he agreed to retire from the conflict.

The Emperor was encouraged by the successes of the Catholic armies to issue that same year an Edict of Restitution. In this he ordered the Protestants throughout Germany to give back all the Church possessions which they had seized since the religious Peace of Augsburg (1555). These included two archbishoprics (Magdeburg and Bremen), nine bishoprics, about one hundred and twenty monasteries, and other Church foundations. Moreover, he decreed that only the Lutherans might enjoy the practice of their religion; the other "sects" were to be broken up. As Wallenstein was preparing to execute this decree in his usual merciless fashion, the war took a new turn. The League had become jealous of a general who threatened to become too powerful, and it accordingly joined in the complaints, which came from every side, of the terrible extortions and incredible cruelty practiced by Wallenstein's troops. The Emperor consented, therefore, to dismiss this most competent commander and lose a large part of his army. Just as the Catholics were thus weakened, a new enemy arrived upon the scene who was far more dangerous than any they had yet had to face—Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden.

Gustavus Adolphus and Swedish Ambitions

We have had no occasion hitherto to speak of the Scandinavian kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, which the northern German peoples had established about Charlemagne's time; but from now on they begin to take part in the affairs of central Europe. The Union of Calmar (1397) had brought these three kingdoms, previously separate, under a single ruler. About the time that the Protestant revolt began in Germany, the union was broken by the withdrawal of Sweden. Gustavus Vasa, a Swedish noble, led the movement

and was subsequently chosen king of Sweden (1523). In the same year Protestantism was introduced. Vasa confiscated the Church lands, got the better of the aristocracy, and started Sweden on its way toward national greatness. Under his successor the eastern shores of the Baltic were conquered, and the Russians cut off from the sea.

Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632) was led to invade Germany for two reasons. In the first place, he was a sincere and enthusiastic Protestant and by far the most generous and attractive figure of his time. He was genuinely afflicted by the misfortunes of his Protestant brethren and anxious to devote himself to their welfare. Secondly, he dreamed of extending his domains so that one day the Baltic might perhaps become a Swedish lake. He undoubtedly hoped by his invasion not only to free his coreligionists from the oppression of the Emperor and of the League but to gain a strip of territory for Sweden.

Gustavus was not received with much cordiality at first by the Protestant princes of the North; but they were brought to their senses by the awful destruction of Magdeburg by the troops of the League under General Tilly. Magdeburg was the most important town of northern Germany. When it finally succumbed after an obstinate and difficult siege, twenty thousand of its inhabitants were killed and the town burned to the ground. Although Tilly's reputation for cruelty is quite equal to that of Wallenstein, he was probably not responsible for the fire. After Gustavus Adolphus had met Tilly near Leipzig and victoriously routed the army of the League, the Protestant princes began to look with more favor on the foreigner. Gustavus then moved westward and took up his winter quarters on the Rhine.

The next spring he entered Bavaria, once more defeated Tilly (who was mortally wounded in the battle), and forced Munich to surrender. There seemed now to be no reason why he should not continue his way to Vienna. At this juncture the

Emperor recalled Wallenstein, who collected a new army over which the Emperor gave him absolute command. After some delay Gustavus met Wallenstein on the field of Lützen, in November, 1632, where, after a fierce struggle, the Swedes gained the victory. But they lost their leader and Protestantism its hero, for the Swedish king ventured too far into the lines of the enemy and was surrounded and killed.

The Swedes did not, however, retire from Germany, but continued to participate in the war, which now degenerated into a series of raids by leaders whose soldiers depopulated the land by their unspeakable atrocities. Wallenstein roused the suspicions of the Catholics by entering into mysterious negotiations with Richelieu and with the German Protestants. This treasonable correspondence quickly reached the ears of the Emperor. Wallenstein, who had long been detested by even the Catholics, was deserted by his soldiers and murdered (in 1634), to the great relief of all parties. In the same year the imperial army won the important battle of Nördlingen, one of the most bloody and at the same time decisive engagements of the war. Shortly after, the elector of Saxony withdrew from his alliance with the Swedes and made peace with the Emperor. It looked as if the war were about to come to an end, for many others among the German princes were quite ready to lay down their arms.

Richelieu takes a Hand

Just at this critical moment Richelieu decided that it would be to the interest of France to renew the old struggle with the Hapsburgs by sending troops against the Emperor. France was still shut in, as she had been since the time of Charles V, by the Hapsburg lands. Except on the side toward the ocean her boundaries were in the main artificial ones and not those established by great rivers and mountains. She therefore longed to weaken her enemy and strengthen herself by winning Roussillon on the south and so make the crest of the Pyrenees the

line of demarcation between France and Spain. She dreamed, too, of extending her sway toward the Rhine by adding the county of Burgundy (that is, Franche-Comté) and a number of fortified towns which would afford protection against the Spanish Netherlands.

Richelieu had been by no means indifferent to the Thirty Years' War. He had encouraged the Swedish king to intervene, and had supplied him with funds if not with troops. Moreover, he himself had checked Spanish progress in northern Italy. In 1624 Spanish troops had invaded the valley of the Adda, a Protestant region, with the evident purpose of conquest. This appeared a most serious aggression to Richelieu; for if the Spanish won the valley of the Adda, the last barrier between the Hapsburg possessions in Italy and in Germany would be removed. French troops were dispatched to drive out the Spaniards, but it was in the interest of France rather than in that of the oppressed Calvinists, for whom Richelieu could hardly have harbored a deep affection. A few years later it became a question whether a Spanish or a French candidate should obtain the vacant duchy of Mantua; and Richelieu led another French army in person, to see that Spain was again discomfited. It was not strange, therefore, that he should decide to deal a blow at the Emperor when the war appeared to be coming to a close that was tolerably satisfactory from the standpoint of the Hapsburgs.

Richelieu declared war against Spain in May, 1635. He had already concluded an alliance with the chief enemies of the house of Austria. Sweden agreed not to negotiate for peace until France was ready for it. The United Provinces joined France, as did some of the German princes. So the war was renewed, and French, Swedish, Spanish, and German soldiers ravaged an already exhausted country for a decade longer. The dearth of provisions was so great that the armies had to move quickly from place to place in order to avoid starvation. After a serious defeat by the Swedes, the Emperor (Ferdi-

nand III, 1637–1657) sent a Dominican monk to expostulate with Cardinal Richelieu for his crime in aiding the German and Swedish heretics against the unimpeachably orthodox Austria.

The cardinal had, however, just died (December, 1642), well content with the results of his diplomacy. The French were in possession of Roussillon and of Artois, Lorraine, and Alsace. The military exploits of the French generals, especially Turenne and Condé, during the opening years of the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) showed that a new period had begun in which the military and political supremacy of Spain was to give way to that of France.

Treaties of Westphalia

The participants in the war were now so numerous and their objects so various and conflicting that it is not strange that it required some years to arrange the conditions of peace, even when everyone was ready for it. It was agreed (1644) that France and the Empire should negotiate at Münster, and the Emperor and the Swedes at Osnabrück—both of which towns lie in Westphalia. For four years the representatives of the several powers worked upon the difficult problem of satisfying everyone; but at last the treaties of Westphalia were signed, late in 1648. Their provisions continued to be the basis of the international law of Europe down to the French Revolution.

The religious troubles in Germany were settled by extending the toleration of the Peace of Augsburg so as to include the Calvinists as well as the Lutherans. The Protestant princes were, regardless of the Edict of Restitution, to retain the lands which they had in their possession in the year 1624, and each ruler was still to have the right to determine the religion of his state. The dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire was practically acknowledged by permitting the individual states to make treaties among themselves and with foreign powers; this was equivalent to recognizing the practical independence which

they had, as a matter of fact, already long enjoyed. A part of Pomerania, and the districts at the mouth of the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser, were ceded to Sweden. This territory did not, however, cease to form a part of the Empire, for Sweden was thereafter to have three votes in the imperial diet.

As for France, it was definitely given the three bishoprics of Metz, Verdun, and Toul, which Henry II had bargained for when he allied himself with the Protestants a century earlier.[1] The Emperor also ceded to France all his rights in Alsace, although the city of Strasbourg was to remain with the Empire. Lastly, the independence both of the United Netherlands and of Switzerland was acknowledged.

The accounts of the misery and depopulation of Germany caused by the Thirty Years' War are well-nigh incredible. Thousands of villages were wiped out altogether; in some regions the population was reduced by one half, in others to a third, or even less, of what it had been at the opening of the conflict. The flourishing city of Augsburg was left with but sixteen thousand souls instead of eighty thousand. The people were fearfully barbarized by privation and suffering and by the atrocities of the soldiers of all the various nations. Until the end of the eighteenth century Germany was too exhausted and impoverished to make any considerable contribution to the culture of Europe. One fateful circumstance may be noted as we leave this dreary subject. After the Peace of Westphalia the Hohenzollern elector of Brandenburg was the most powerful of the German princes next to the Emperor. His successors, as kings of Prussia, were destined to create a new European power, to humble the House of Hapsburg, to establish a new German empire, and, finally, to disappear in the year 1918 in that awful pit which Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns had combined to dig for themselves.

[1] See page 474.

CHAPTER XIX

THE STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

James I and his Views of Kingly Power

The great question which confronted England in the seventeenth century was whether the king should be permitted to rule the people, as God's representative, or should submit to the constant control of the nation's representatives; that is, Parliament. In France the Estates General met for the last time (until 1789) in 1614, and thereafter the French king made laws and executed them without asking the advice of anyone except his immediate counselors. In general, the rulers on the Continent exercised despotic powers; and James I of England and his son Charles I would gladly have made themselves absolute rulers, for they entertained the same exalted notions of the divine right of kings which prevailed across the English Channel.

England finally succeeded, however, in adjusting the relations between king and Parliament in a very happy way, so as to produce a limited, or constitutional, monarchy. The long and bitter struggle between the House of Stuart and the English Parliament plays an important rôle in the history of Europe at large, as well as in that of England. After the French Revolution, at the end of the eighteenth century, the English system began to become popular on the Continent, and it replaced the older, absolute monarchy in all the kingdoms of western Europe.

On the death of Elizabeth in 1603, James I (1603–1625), the first of the Stuarts, ascended the English throne. He was,

it will be remembered, the son of Mary Queen of Scots, and was known in Scotland as James VI; consequently England and Scotland now came under the same ruler. This did not, however, make the relations between the two countries much happier—for a century to come, at least.

The chief interest of James's reign lies in his tendency to exalt the royal prerogative, and in the systematic manner in which he extolled absolute monarchy in his writings and speeches and discredited it by his conduct. James was an unusually learned man, for a king, but his learning did not enlighten him in matters of common sense. As a man and a ruler he was far inferior to his unschooled and light-hearted contemporary, Henry IV of France. Henry VIII had been a heartless despot, and Elizabeth had ruled the nation in a high-handed manner; but both of them had known how to make themselves popular and had had the good sense to say as little as possible about their rights. James, on the contrary, had a fancy for discussing his high position.

"As for the absolute prerogative of the crown," he declares, "that is no subject for the tongue of a lawyer, nor is it lawful to be disputed. It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do: . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that." The king, James claimed, could make any kind of law or statute that he thought meet, without any advice from Parliament, although he might, if he chose, accept its suggestions. "He is overlord of the whole land, so is he master over every person who inhabiteth the same, having power over the life and death of every one of them: for although a just prince will not take the life of one of his subjects without a clear law, yet the same laws whereby he taketh them are made by himself and his predecessors; so the power flows always from himself." A good king will act according to law, but he is above the law, and is not bound thereby except voluntarily and for the sake of giving a good example to his subjects.

These theories, taken from James's work on *The Law of Free Monarchies*, seem strange and unreasonable to us. But he was really only emphasizing the rights which his predecessors had enjoyed, and such as were conceded to the kings of France until the French Revolution. According to the theory of "divine right" the king did not owe his power to the nation but to God, who had appointed him to be the father of his people. From God he derived all the prerogatives necessary to maintain order and promote justice; consequently he was responsible to God alone for the exercise of his powers, and not to the people. It is unnecessary to follow in detail the troubles between James and his Parliament, and the various methods which he invented for raising money without the sanction of Parliament; for all this forms only the preliminary to the fatal experience of James's son, Charles I.

In his foreign policy he showed as little sense as in his relations with his own people. When his son-in-law became king of Bohemia, James refused to help him. But when the Palatinate was given by the Emperor to Maximilian of Bavaria, James hit upon the extraordinary plan of forming an alliance with the hated Spain and inducing its king to persuade the Emperor to reinstate the "winter king" in his former possessions. To conciliate Spain, Charles, Prince of Wales, was to marry a Spanish princess. Naturally this proposal was very unpopular among the English Protestants, and it finally came to nothing.

Although England under James I failed to influence deeply the course of affairs in Europe at large, his reign is distinguished by the work of unrivaled writers who gave England a literature which outshone that of any other of the European countries. Although Shakespeare wrote many of his plays before the death of Elizabeth, *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *The Tempest* belong to the reign of James. Francis Bacon, philosopher and statesman, did much for the advancement of scientific research by advocating new methods of reasoning based upon

a careful observation of natural phenomena instead of upon Aristotle's logic. (The progressive thinkers of the seventeenth century in England will be discussed in a later chapter.) The most worthy monument of the strong and beautiful English of the period is to be found in the translation of the Bible, prepared in James's reign and still generally used in all the countries where English is spoken.[1]

Charles I tries Dispensing with Parliament

Charles I (1625–1649) was somewhat more dignified than his father, but he was quite as obstinately set upon having his own way and showed no more skill in winning the confidence of his subjects. He did nothing to remove the disagreeable impressions of his father's reign and began immediately to quarrel with Parliament. When that body refused to grant him any money, mainly because they thought that it was likely to be wasted by his favorite, the duke of Buckingham, Charles formed the plan of winning their favor by a great military victory.

After James I had reluctantly given up his cherished Spanish alliance, Charles had married a French princess, Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV. In spite of this marriage Charles now proposed to aid the Huguenots whom Richelieu was besieging in their town of La Rochelle. He hoped also to gain popularity by prosecuting a war against Spain, whose king was energetically supporting the Catholic League in Germany. Accordingly, in spite of Parliament's refusal to grant him the necessary funds, he embarked in war. With only the money which he could raise by irregular means, Charles arranged an expedition to take Cadiz and the Spanish treasure ships which arrived there once a year from America, laden with

[1] See the translators' dedication to James I in the authorized version of the Bible. Only recently has it been deemed necessary to revise the remarkable work of the translators of the early seventeenth century.

gold and silver. The expedition failed, as well as Charles's attempt to help the Huguenots.

In his attempts to raise money without a regular grant from Parliament, Charles had resorted to vexatious exactions. The law prohibited him from asking for *gifts* from his people, but it did not forbid his asking them to *lend* him money, however little prospect there might be of his ever repaying it. Five gentlemen who refused to pay such a forced loan were imprisoned by the mere order of the king. This raised the question of whether the king had the right to send to prison those whom he wished without showing legal cause for their arrest.

This and other attacks upon the rights of his subjects roused Parliament. In 1628 that body drew up the celebrated Petition of Right, which is one of the most important documents in the history of the English constitution. In it Parliament called the king's attention to his illegal exactions and to the acts of his agents, who had in sundry ways molested and disquieted the people of the realm. Parliament therefore "humbly prayed" the king that no man need thereafter "make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge" without consent of Parliament; that no free man should be imprisoned or suffer any punishment except according to the laws and statutes of the realm as presented in the Great Charter; and that soldiers should not be quartered upon the people on any pretext whatever. Very reluctantly Charles consented to this restatement of the limitations which the English had long, in theory at least, placed upon the arbitrary power of the king.

The disagreement between Charles and Parliament was rendered much more serious by religious differences. The king had married a Catholic princess, and the Catholic cause seemed to be gaining on the Continent. The king of Denmark had just been defeated by Wallenstein and Tilly, and Richelieu had succeeded in depriving the Huguenots of their cities of refuge. Both James and Charles had shown their readiness to enter into engagements with France and Spain to protect English

Catholics, and there was evidently a growing inclination in England to revert to the older ceremonies of the Church, a tendency which shocked the more strongly Protestant members of the House of Commons. The communion table was again placed by many clergymen at the eastern end of the church and became fixed there as an altar, and portions of the service were once more chanted.

These "popish practices," with which the king was supposed to sympathize, served to widen the breach between him and the Commons which had been opened by his attempt to raise taxes on his own account. The Parliament of 1629, after a stormy session, was dissolved by the king, who determined to rule thereafter by himself. For eleven years no new Parliament was summoned.

Charles was not well fitted by nature to try the experiment of personal government. Moreover, the methods resorted to by his ministers to raise money without recourse to Parliament rendered the king more and more unpopular and prepared the way for the triumphant return of Parliament.

According to an ancient law of England those who had a certain amount of land must become knights; but since the decay of the feudal system, landowners had given up the meaningless form of qualifying themselves as knights. It now occurred to the king's government that a large amount of money might be raised by fining these delinquents. Other unfortunates, who had settled within the boundaries of the royal forests, were either heavily fined or required to pay enormous arrears of rent.

In addition to these sources of income, Charles applied to his subjects for *ship money*. He was anxious to equip a fleet; but instead of requiring the various ports to furnish ships, as was the ancient custom, he permitted them to buy themselves off by contributing to the fitting out of large ships owned by himself. Even those living inland were asked for ship money. The king maintained that this was not a tax but simply a pay-

ment by which his subjects freed themselves from the duty of defending their country. John Hampden, a squire of Buckinghamshire, made a bold stand against this illegal demand by refusing to pay twenty shillings of ship money which was levied upon him. The case was tried before the king's judges, a bare majority of whom decided against Hampden. But the trial made it tolerably clear that the country would not put up long with the king's despotic policy.

Religious Controversies

In 1633 Charles made William Laud archbishop of Canterbury. Laud believed that the English Church would strengthen both itself and the government by maintaining a middle course which should lie between that of the Church of Rome and that of Calvinistic Geneva. He declared that it was the part of good citizenship to conform *outwardly* to the services of the State Church, but that the State should not undertake to oppress the individual conscience; and that everyone should be at liberty to make up his own mind in regard to the interpretation to be given to the Bible and to the Church Fathers. As soon as he became archbishop he began a series of visitations through his province. Every clergyman who refused to conform to the Prayer Book, or opposed the placing of the communion table at the east end of the church, or declined to bow at the name of Jesus, was, if obstinate, to be brought before the king's special Court of High Commission to be tried and, if convicted, to be deprived of his benefice.

Laud's conduct was no doubt gratifying to the High Church party among the Protestants; that is, those who still clung to some of the ancient practices of the Roman Church although they rejected the doctrine of the Mass and refused to regard the Pope as their head. The Low Church party, or *Puritans*, on the contrary, regarded Laud and his policy with aversion. Although, unlike the Presbyterians, they did not urge the aboli-

tion of the bishops, they disliked all "superstitious usages," as they called the wearing of the surplice by the clergy, the use of the sign of the cross at baptism, the kneeling posture in partaking of the communion. The Presbyterians, who are often confused with the Puritans, agreed with them in many respects, but went farther and demanded the introduction of Calvin's system of Church government.[1]

Lastly, there was an ever-increasing number of Separatists, or Independents. These rejected both the organization of the Church of England and that of the Presbyterians, and desired that each religious community should organize itself independently. The government had forbidden these Separatists to hold their little meetings, which they called *conventicles*, and about 1600 some of them fled to Holland. The community of them which established itself at Leiden dispatched the *Mayflower*, in 1620, with colonists,—since known as the Pilgrim Fathers,—to the New World, across the sea.[2] It was these colonists who laid the foundations of a *New England* which has proved a worthy offspring of the mother country. The form of worship which they established in their new home is still known as Congregational.[3]

In 1640 Charles found himself involved in a war with Scotland. There the Presbyterian system had been pretty generally introduced by John Knox in Queen Mary's time, but the bishops had been permitted to maintain a precarious existence in the interest of the nobles who enjoyed their revenues. James I had always had a strong dislike for Presbyterianism. He once said: "A Scottish presbytery agreeth as well with the monarchy as God with the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet and at their pleasure censure me and

[1] See pages 440–441.

[2] The name "Puritan," it should be noted, was applied loosely to the English Protestants, whether Low Churchmen, Presbyterians, or Independents, who aroused the antagonism of their neighbors by advocating a godly life and opposing popular pastimes, especially on Sunday.

[3] For a contemporary account of the Puritans see *Readings*, chap. xxx.

my council." He much preferred a few bishops, appointed by himself, to hundreds of presbyteries over whose sharp eyes and sharper tongues he could have little control. So bishops were reappointed in Scotland in the early years of his reign and got back some of their powers. The Presbyterians, however, were still in the majority, and they continued to regard the bishops as the tools of the king.

An attempt on the part of Charles to force the Scots to accept a modified form of the English Prayer Book led to the signing of the National Covenant, in 1638. This pledged those who attached their names to it to reëstablish the purity and liberty of the gospel, which, to most of the Covenanters, meant Presbyterianism. Charles thereupon undertook to coerce the Scots. Having no money, he bought on credit a large cargo of pepper, which had just arrived in the ships of the East India Company, and sold it cheap for ready cash. The soldiers whom he got together showed, however, little inclination to fight the Scots, with whom they were in tolerable agreement on religious matters. Charles was therefore at last obliged to summon a Parliament, which, owing to the length of time it remained in session, is known as the Long Parliament.

The Long Parliament; the Execution of Charles I

The Long Parliament began by imprisoning Strafford, the king's most conspicuous minister, and Archbishop Laud in the Tower of London. The help that Strafford had given to the king in ruling without Parliament had mortally offended the House of Commons. They declared him guilty of treason; and he was executed in 1641, in spite of Charles's efforts to save him. Laud met the same fate four years later. Parliament tried also to strengthen its position by passing the Triennial Bill, which provided that it should meet at least once in three years, even if not summoned by the king. The courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, which had arbitrarily

condemned a number of the king's opponents, were abolished, and ship money was declared illegal. In short, Charles's whole system of government was abrogated. The efforts of the queen to obtain money and soldiers from the Pope, and a visit of Charles to Scotland, which Parliament suspected was for the purpose of forcing the Scots to lend him an army to use against themselves, led to the "Grand Remonstrance." In this all of Charles's errors were enumerated, and a demand was made that the king's ministers should thereafter be responsible to Parliament. This document Parliament ordered to be printed and circulated throughout the country.

Exasperated at the conduct of the Commons, Charles attempted to intimidate the opposition by undertaking to arrest five of its most active leaders, whom he declared to be traitors. But when he entered the House of Commons and looked around for his enemies, he found that they had taken shelter in London, whose citizens later brought them back in triumph to the neighboring Westminster.

Both Charles and Parliament now began to gather troops for the inevitable conflict, and England was plunged into civil war. Those who supported Charles were called *Cavaliers*. They included not only most of the aristocracy and the papal party but also a number of members of the House of Commons who were fearful lest Presbyterianism should succeed in doing away with the English Church. The parliamentary party were popularly known as the *Roundheads*, since some of them cropped their hair close because of their dislike for the long locks of their more aristocratic and worldly opponents.

The Roundheads soon found a distinguished leader in Oliver Cromwell (b. 1599), a country gentleman and member of Parliament, who was later to become the most powerful ruler of his time. Cromwell organized a compact army of God-fearing men, who indulged in no profane words or light talk, as is the wont of soldiers, but advanced upon their enemies singing psalms. The king enjoyed the support of northern

England, and also looked for help from Ireland, where the royal and Catholic causes were popular.

The war continued for several years, and a number of battles were fought which, after the first year, went in general against the Cavaliers. The most important of these were the battle of Marston Moor in 1644, and that of Naseby the next year, in which the king was disastrously defeated. The enemy came into possession of his correspondence, which showed them how their king had been endeavoring to bring armies from France and Ireland into England. This encouraged Parliament to prosecute the war with more energy than ever. The king, defeated on every hand, put himself in the hands of the Scotch army which had come to the aid of Parliament (1646), and the Scotch soon turned him over to Parliament. During the next two years Charles, while held in captivity, entered into negotiations with the various parties in turn, but played fast and loose with them all.

Meanwhile the Long Parliament had abolished (1642) the system of Church government by bishops,—"episcopacy," as it was scornfully called,—and had called together an assembly of divines at Westminster, to give advice on what should be substituted for the Church as organized in Elizabeth's reign. This Westminster Assembly continued its meetings for several years (1643–1649). Those who believed in "episcopacy" stayed away, and the adherents of Calvin and the Scotch Church drew up a Presbyterian system, which Parliament tried to introduce. But Cromwell was an "Independent," and had little use for the Presbyterian intolerance; consequently, so far as England was concerned, little came of the Westminster Assembly. Its Confession of Faith, Directory of Public Worship, and Presbyterian catechisms exercised, however, a great influence on Presbyterianism when this was transplanted to the English colonies, especially on those in America. (See page 443.)

There were many in the House of Commons who still sided with the king; and in December, 1648, that body declared for

a reconciliation with the monarch, whom they had safely imprisoned in the Isle of Wight. The next day Colonel Pride, representing the army,—which constituted a party in itself and was opposed to all negotiations between the king and the Commons,—stood at the door of the House with a body of soldiers and excluded all the members who took the side of the king. This outrageous act is known in history as Pride's Purge.

In this way the House was brought completely under the control of those most bitterly hostile to Charles, whom they now proposed to bring to trial. They declared that the House of Commons, since it was chosen by the people, was supreme in England and the source of all just power, and that consequently neither king nor House of Lords was necessary. The mutilated House appointed a special High Court of Justice made up of Charles's sternest opponents, who alone would consent to sit in judgment on him. They passed sentence upon him, and on January 30, 1649, Charles was beheaded in front of his palace of Whitehall. It must be clear from the above account that it was not the nation at large which demanded Charles's death, but a very small group of extremists who claimed to be the representatives of the nation.

England a Republic

The "Rump Parliament," as the remnant of the House of Commons was contemptuously called, proclaimed England to be thereafter a *commonwealth*; that is, a republic, without a king or a House of Lords. Cromwell, the head of the army, was the real ruler of England. He derived his main support from the Independents; and it is very surprising that he was able to maintain himself so long, considering what a small portion of the English people was in sympathy with the religious ideas of that sect and with the abolition of kingship. Even the Presbyterians were on the side of Charles II, the legal heir to the throne. Yet Cromwell represented the principles for which

the opponents of tyranny had been contending. He was, moreover, a vigorous and skillful administrator, and had a well-organized army of fifty thousand men at his command; otherwise the republic could scarcely have lasted more than a few months.

Cromwell found himself confronted by every variety of difficulty. The three kingdoms had fallen apart. The nobles and Catholics in Ireland proclaimed Charles II as king, and Ormond, a Protestant leader, formed an army of Irish Catholics and English royalist Protestants with a view to overthrowing the Commonwealth. Cromwell accordingly set out for Ireland, where, after taking Drogheda, he mercilessly slaughtered two thousand of the "barbarous wretches," as he called them. Town after town surrendered to Cromwell's army, and in 1652, after much cruelty, the island was once more conquered. A large part of it was confiscated for the benefit of the English, and the Catholic landowners were driven into the mountains. In the meantime (1650) Charles II had landed in Scotland, and upon his agreeing to be a Presbyterian king the whole Scotch nation was ready to support him. But Scotland was subdued even more promptly than Ireland had been. So completely was the Scottish army destroyed that Cromwell found no need to draw the sword again in the British Isles.

Although it would seem that Cromwell had enough to keep him busy at home, he had already engaged in a hazardous foreign war against the Dutch, who had become dangerous commercial rivals of England. The ships which went out from Amsterdam and Rotterdam were the best merchant vessels in the world, and had got control of the carrying trade between Europe and her colonies. In order to put an end to this, the English Parliament passed the Navigation Act (1651), which permitted only English vessels to bring goods to England, unless the goods came in vessels belonging to the country which had produced them. This led to a commercial war between Holland and England; and a series of battles was fought be-

tween the English and Dutch fleets, in which sometimes one and sometimes the other gained the upper hand. This war is notable as the first example of the commercial struggles which were thereafter to take the place of the religious conflicts of the preceding period.

Cromwell failed to get along with Parliament any better than Charles had done. The Rump Parliament had become very unpopular; for its members, in spite of their boasted piety, accepted bribes and were zealous in the promotion of their relatives in the public service. At last Cromwell upbraided them angrily for their injustice and self-interest, which were injuring the public cause. On being interrupted by a member, he cried out: "Come, come, we have had enough of this. I'll put an end to this. It's not fit that you should sit here any longer"; and, calling in his soldiers, he turned the members out of the House and sent them home. Having thus made an end of the Long Parliament (April, 1653), he summoned a Parliament of his own, made up of God-fearing men whom he and the officers of his army chose. This extraordinary body is known as Barebone's Parliament, from a distinguished member, a London merchant, with the characteristically Puritan name of Praisegod Barebone. Many of these godly men were unpractical and hard to deal with. A minority of the more sensible ones got up early one winter morning (December, 1653) and, before their opponents had a chance to protest, declared Parliament dissolved and placed the supreme authority in the hands of Cromwell.

For nearly five years Cromwell was, as Lord Protector (a title equivalent to that of "Regent"), practically king of England, although he refused actually to accept the royal insignia. He did not succeed in permanently organizing the government at home, but showed remarkable ability in his foreign negotiations. He formed an alliance with France, and English troops aided the French in winning a great victory over Spain. England gained thereby Dunkirk, and the West Indian island of

Jamaica. The French king, Louis XIV, at first hesitated to address Cromwell, in the usual courteous way of monarchs, as "my cousin," but soon admitted that he would have to call Cromwell "father" should he wish it, as the Protector was undoubtedly the most powerful person in Europe.

In May, 1658, Cromwell fell ill; and as a great storm passed over England at that time, the Cavaliers asserted that the devil had come to fetch home the soul of the usurper. Cromwell was dying, it is true, but he was no instrument of the devil. He closed a life of honest effort for his fellow beings with a last touching prayer to God, whom he had consistently sought to serve:

> Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do Thy people some good and Thee service: and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too; and pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure. Amen.

The Restoration

After Cromwell's death his son Richard, who succeeded him, found himself unable to carry on the government. He soon abdicated, and the remnants of the Long Parliament met once more. But the power was really in the hands of the soldiers. In 1660 George Monk, who was in command of the forces in Scotland, came to London with a view to putting an end to the anarchy. He soon concluded that no one cared to support the "Rump," or vestiges of the last Parliament, and that body peacefully disbanded of its own accord. Resistance would have been vain in any case with the army against it. The nation was glad to acknowledge Charles II, whom everyone preferred to a government by soldiers. A new Parliament, composed of both Houses, was assembled, which welcomed a

messenger from the king and solemnly resolved that, "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons." Thus the Puritan revolution and the ephemeral republic were followed by the *Restoration* of the Stuarts.

Charles II was quite as fond as his father of having his own way, but he was a man of more ability. He disliked to be ruled by Parliament; but, unlike his father, he was unwilling to arouse the nation against him. He did not propose to let anything happen which would send him on his travels again. He and his courtiers were fond of pleasure of a light-minded and immoral kind. The licentious dramas of the Restoration seem to indicate that those who had been forced by the Puritans to give up their legitimate pleasures now welcomed the opportunity to indulge in reckless gayety without regard to the bounds imposed by custom and decency.

Charles's first Parliament was a moderate body; but his second was made up almost wholly of Cavaliers, and it got along, on the whole, so well with the king that he did not dissolve it for eighteen years. It did not take up the old question, which was still unsettled, as to whether Parliament or the king was really supreme. It showed its hostility, however, to the Puritans by a series of intolerant acts, which are very important in English history. It ordered that no one should hold a municipal office who had not received the Eucharist according to the rites of the Church of England. This was aimed at both the Presbyterians and the Independents. By the Act of Uniformity (1662) any clergyman who refused to accept everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer was to be excluded from holding his benefice. Two thousand clergymen thereupon resigned their positions for conscience' sake. These laws tended to throw all those Protestants who refused to conform to the Church of England into a single class, still known as Dissenters. It included the Independents, the Presbyterians, and the newer bodies of the Baptists and the Society of

Friends (commonly known as Quakers). These sects abandoned any idea of controlling the religion or politics of the country and asked only that they might be permitted to worship in their own way, outside the English Church.

Toleration found an unexpected ally in the king, who, in spite of his dissolute habits, had interest enough in religion to have secret leanings toward Catholicism. He asked Parliament to permit him to moderate the rigor of the Act of Uniformity by making some exceptions. He even issued a declaration in the interest of toleration, with a view to bettering the position of the Catholics and the Nonconformists. Suspicion was, however, aroused lest this toleration might lead to the restoration of "popery," and Parliament passed the harsh Conventicle Act (1664). Any adult attending a conventicle (that is to say, any religious meeting not held in accordance with the practice of the English Church) was liable to penalties which culminated in transportation to some distant colony. Samuel Pepys, who saw some of the victims of this law upon their way to a terrible exile, notes in his famous diary: "They go like lambs without any resistance. I would to God that they would conform or be more wise and not be catched." A few years later Charles issued a declaration giving complete religious liberty to Roman Catholics as well as to Dissenters. Parliament not only forced him to withdraw this enlightened measure but passed the Test Act, which excluded everyone from public office who did not accept the Anglican views.

The old war with Holland, begun by Cromwell, was renewed under Charles II, who was earnestly desirous to increase English commerce and to found new colonies. The two nations were very evenly matched on the sea; but in 1664 the English seized from the Dutch some of the West Indian Islands and also their colony on Manhattan Island, which was renamed New York in honor of the king's brother. In 1667 a treaty was signed by England and Holland which confirmed these conquests. Three years later Charles was induced by Louis XIV

to conclude a secret treaty by which he engaged to aid Louis in a fresh war upon Holland. Louis cherished a grudge against Holland for preventing him from seizing the Spanish Netherlands, to which he asserted a claim on behalf of his Spanish wife. In return for Charles's promised aid Louis was to support him with money and troops whenever Charles thought fit publicly to declare himself a Catholic—he had already acknowledged his conversion to a select circle. But Charles's nephew, William of Orange,—the great-grandson of William the Silent,—who was later to become king of England, encouraged the Dutch to resist, and Louis was forced to relinquish his purpose of conquering this stubborn people. Peace was concluded in 1674; and England and Holland soon became allies against Louis, who was now recognized as the greatest danger which Europe had to face (see the following chapter).

The Revolution of 1688

Upon the death of Charles II, in 1685, he was succeeded by his brother, who, amidst general enthusiasm, became James II. He was an avowed Roman Catholic and had married, as his second wife, an Italian Catholic princess, Mary of Modena. During his short reign James II managed things very badly. His subjects might well have forgiven his failure to sympathize with the Anglican Church, but they could not forgive the brutal and unconstitutional manner in which he tried to force England back into an acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith.

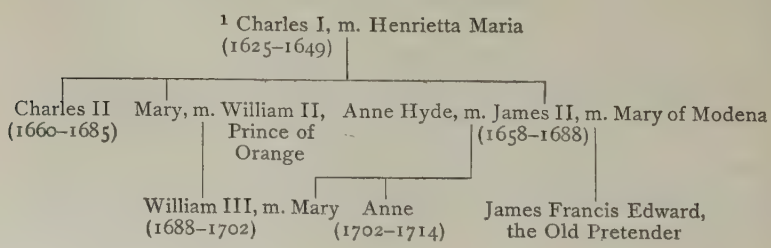
A rebellion occurred at the opening of James's reign, led by the duke of Monmouth, a Protestant, who claimed to be the legitimate successor of Charles II. With the backing of a few Dissenters, Monmouth tried to make himself king; but he found little support, and was speedily captured and executed as a traitor. Then Lord Jeffreys, a peculiarly "abusive, profane, and cruel" judge, was appointed by the king to try those implicated in the plot. He condemned more than three hundred

to be hanged, and over eight hundred to be transported to the West Indies; that is, to all intents and purposes, to be sold into slavery. So when James chose Jeffreys as his lord chancellor it made a most unhappy impression.

James was intent on restoring the Catholic religion in England and dismissed those of his ministers and judges who opposed his plans. He claimed the right to *dispense* with the acts of Parliament which required religious tests to which no Catholic could conform. He attempted to force into governmental and university positions men who openly espoused Roman Catholicism. In spite of the opposition of Parliament he suspended all the laws against Catholics and Dissenters—nevertheless the Dissenters refused to give him their support.

The people tolerated for a time these violations of the constitution and other illegal actions on the part of the king, because, being well advanced in years, he would apparently soon be succeeded by his daughter, who was a Protestant. Mary, James's daughter by his first wife, had married William, Prince of Orange,[1] the head of the United Netherlands. But when a son was born to James's Catholic second wife, the whole situation was changed. A group of influential men, including various classes and parties, dispatched messengers to William and Mary, inviting them to come and rule over England.

William landed in November, 1688, and marched upon London, where he received general support from all the English Protestants, regardless of party. James started to oppose William; but his army refused to fight, and his courtiers



deserted him. William was glad to forward James's flight to France, as he would hardly have known what to do with him had James insisted on remaining in the country. A new Parliament, somewhat irregularly convened, declared the throne vacant, on the ground that King James II, "by the advice of the Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government."

The new sovereigns accepted those conditions (later duly passed as the famous Bill of Rights) which the irregular Parliament imposed upon them, and were proclaimed king and queen in February, 1689. This "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 made it clear that the English Parliament and not the monarch was really supreme. Professor Cheyney remarks that it accomplished less than is sometimes claimed for it. "No new classes were given the right to vote and there was no effort to represent the people more completely in Parliament. It brought few if any advantages to the common people. It was a very successful revolution, but not one that extended very deeply or affected very many of the interests of the people."

The Bill of Rights rehearsed the ways in which the late James II "by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him did endeavor to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom," by suspending the laws, establishing a special court, levying money without the consent of Parliament, exacting excessive bail, and imposing illegal and cruel punishments. All these things, "utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes and freedom of this realm," were recognized as such by the new rulers. They agreed, too, that there should be complete freedom of speech in Parliament.

This Bill of Rights became a sort of model for the American Declaration of Independence and for the bills of rights in many of our state constitutions, as well as for the one appended to the United States Constitution in the first ten amendments.

A Toleration Act was passed, granting the right of public worship to Dissenters. Roman Catholics and Unitarians were, however, not included. Later the liberty of the press was established by removing all government censorship of books and all licensing. But a writer could still be adjudged guilty of sedition, blasphemy, or libel. It was, however, an important innovation for the government to give up all efforts to maintain a system requiring books and pamphlets to be examined by the public authorities and approved *before* one could legally print what he had to say.

CHAPTER XX

THE CULMINATION OF AUTOCRACY

Louis XIV claims to be God's Lieutenant

Under the despotic rule of Louis XIV (1643–1715) France enjoyed a commanding influence in European affairs. After the wars of religion were over, the royal authority had been reëstablished by the wise conduct of Henry IV. Richelieu had solidified the monarchy by depriving the Huguenots of the exceptional privileges granted to them for their protection by Henry IV; he had also destroyed the fortified castles of the nobles, whose power had greatly increased during the turmoil of the Huguenot wars. His successor, Cardinal Mazarin, who conducted the government during Louis XIV's boyhood, was able to put down a last rising of the discontented nobility.

When Mazarin died, in 1661, he left to the young monarch a kingdom such as no previous French king had enjoyed. The nobles, who for centuries had disputed the power with Hugh Capet and his successors, were no longer feudal lords but only courtiers. The Huguenots, whose claim to a place in the State beside the Catholics had led to the terrible civil wars of the sixteenth century, were reduced in numbers and no longer held fortified towns from which they could defy the king's agents. Richelieu and Mazarin had successfully taken a hand in the Thirty Years' War, and France had come out of it with enlarged territory and increased importance in European affairs.

Louis XIV carried the work of these great ministers still farther. He gave that courtly form to the French monarchy which it retained until the French Revolution. He made himself the very mirror of kingship. His marvelous court at Ver-

sailles became the model and the despair of princes, less opulent and powerful, who accepted his theory of the absolute power of kings but could not afford to imitate his luxury. By his incessant wars of aggression he kept Europe in turmoil for over half a century. The distinguished generals who led his newly organized troops, and the wily diplomats who arranged his alliances and negotiated his treaties, made France feared and respected by even the most powerful of the other European states.

Louis XIV had the same idea of kingship that James I had tried in vain to induce the English people to accept. God had given kings to men, and it was his will that monarchs should be regarded as his lieutenants and that all those subject to them should obey them absolutely, without asking any questions or making any criticisms; for in yielding to their prince they were really yielding to God himself. If the king was good and wise, his subjects should thank the Lord; if he proved foolish, cruel, or perverse, they must accept their evil ruler as a punishment which God had sent them for their sins. But in no case might they limit his power or rise against him.[1]

Louis had two great advantages over James. In the first place, the English nation has always shown itself far more reluctant than France to place absolute power in the hands of its rulers. By its Parliament, its courts, and its various declarations of the nation's rights, it had built up traditions which made it impossible for the Stuarts to establish their claim to be absolute rulers. In France, on the other hand, there was no Great Charter or Bill of Rights; the Estates General did not hold the purse strings, and the king was permitted to raise money without asking their permission or previously redressing the grievances which they chose to point out. They were therefore summoned only at irregular intervals. When

[1] Louis does not appear to have himself used the famous expression, "*I* am the *State*," usually attributed to him; but it exactly corresponds to his idea of the relation of the king to the State. See *Readings*, Vol. II, chap. xxxi.

Louis XIV took charge of the government, forty-seven years had passed without a meeting of the Estates General, and a century and a quarter was still to elapse before another call to the representatives of the nation was issued, in 1789. Moreover, the French people placed far more reliance upon a powerful king than the English, perhaps because they were not protected by the sea from their neighbors, as England was. On every side France had enemies ready to take advantage of any weakness or hesitation which might arise from dissension between a parliament and the king. So the French felt it best, on the whole, to leave all in the king's hands, even if they suffered at times from his tyranny.

Louis had another great advantage over James. He was a handsome man, of elegant and courtly mien and the most exquisite perfection of manner; even when playing billiards he retained an air of world mastery. The first of the Stuarts, on the contrary, was a very awkward person, whose slouching gait, intolerable manners, and pedantic conversation were utterly at variance with his lofty pretensions. Louis added to his graceful exterior a fair judgment and quick apprehension. He said neither too much nor too little. He was, for a king, a hard worker, spending several hours a day looking after the business of government. It requires, in fact, a great deal of energy and application to be a real despot. In order really to understand and to solve the problems which constantly face the ruler of a great state, a monarch must, like Frederick the Great or Napoleon, rise early and toil late. Louis was greatly aided by the able ministers who sat in his council, but he always retained for himself the place of first minister. He would never have consented to be dominated by an adviser, as his father had been by Richelieu. "The profession of the king," he declared, "is great, noble, and delightful if one but feels equal to performing the duties which it involves," and he never harbored a doubt that he himself was born for the business.

The Court of Versailles

Louis XIV was careful that his surroundings should suit the grandeur of his office. His court was magnificent beyond anything that had been dreamed of in the West. He had an enormous palace constructed at Versailles, just outside of Paris, with interminable halls and apartments and a vast garden stretching away behind it. About this a town was laid out, where those who were privileged to be near His Majesty or supply the wants of the royal court lived. This palace and its outlying buildings, including two or three less gorgeous residences for the king when he occasionally tired of the ceremony of Versailles, probably cost the nation about a hundred million dollars, in spite of the fact that thousands of peasants and soldiers were forced to turn to and work without remuneration. The furnishings and decorations were as rich and costly as the palace was splendid. For over a century Versailles continued to be the home of the French kings and the seat of their government.

This splendor and luxury helped to attract the nobility, who no longer lived on their estates in well-fortified castles, planning how they might escape the royal control. They now dwelt in the effulgence of the king's countenance. They saw him to bed at night, and in stately procession they greeted him in the morning. It was deemed a high honor to hand him his shirt as he was being dressed, or, at dinner, to provide him with a fresh napkin. Only by living close to the king could the courtiers hope to gain favors, pensions, and lucrative offices for themselves and their friends, and perhaps occasionally to exercise some little influence upon the policy of the government. For they were now entirely dependent upon the good will of their monarch.

The reforms which Louis carried out in the earlier part of his reign were largely the work of the great financier Colbert, to whom France still looks back with gratitude. He early dis-

covered that Louis's officials were stealing and wasting vast sums. The offenders were arrested and forced to disgorge, and a new system of bookkeeping was introduced similar to that employed by business men. Colbert then turned his attention to increasing the manufactures of France by establishing new industries and by seeing that the older ones kept to a high standard, which would make French goods sell readily in foreign markets. He argued justly that if foreigners could be induced to buy French goods, these sales would bring gold and silver into the country and so enrich it. He made rigid rules as to the width and quality of cloths which the manufacturers might produce and the dyes which they might use. He even reorganized the old medieval guilds; for through them the government could keep its eye on all the manufacturing that was done, and this would have been far more difficult if everyone had been free to carry on any trade which he might choose. There were serious drawbacks to this kind of government regulation, but France accepted it, nevertheless, for many years.

It was, however, as a patron of art and literature that Louis XIV gained much of his celebrity. Molière, who was at once a playwright and an actor, delighted the court with comedies in which he delicately satirized the foibles of his time. Corneille, who had gained renown by the great tragedy of *The Cid* in Richelieu's time, found a worthy successor in Racine, the most distinguished, perhaps, of French tragic poets. The charming letters of Madame de Sévigné are models of prose style and serve at the same time to give us a glimpse into the more refined life of the court. In the famous memoirs of Saint-Simon the weaknesses of the king, as well as the numberless intrigues of the courtiers, are freely exposed with inimitable skill and wit.

Men of letters were generously aided by the king with pensions. Colbert encouraged the French Academy, which had been created by Richelieu. This body gave special attention to making the French tongue more eloquent and expressive

by determining what words should be used. It is now the greatest honor that a Frenchman can obtain to be made one of the forty members of this association. A magazine which still exists, the *Journal des Savants*, was founded for the promotion of science. Colbert had an astronomical observatory built at Paris; and the Royal Library, which possessed only about sixteen thousand volumes, began to grow into that great collection of two and a half million volumes—by far the largest in existence—which today attracts scholars to Paris from all parts of the world. In short, Louis and his ministers believed one of the chief objects of any government to be the promotion of art, literature, and science, and the example they set has been followed by almost every modern state.

Aggressions of Louis XIV

Unfortunately for France, the king's ambitions were by no means altogether peaceful. Indeed, he regarded his wars as his chief glory. He employed a carefully reorganized army and the skill of his generals in a series of inexcusable attacks on his neighbors, in which he finally squandered all that Colbert's economies had accumulated and led France to the edge of financial ruin.

Louis XIV's predecessors had had, on the whole, little time to think of conquest. They had first to consolidate their realms and gain the mastery of their feudal dependents, who shared the power with them; then the claims of the English Edwards and Henrys had to be met, and the French provinces freed from their clutches; lastly, the great religious dispute was settled only after many years of disintegrating civil war. But Louis was now at liberty to look about him and consider how he might best realize the dream of his ancestors and perhaps reëstablish the ancient boundaries which Cæsar reported that the Gauls had occupied. The "natural limits" of France appeared to be the Rhine on the north and east, the Jura Moun-

tains and the Alps on the southeast, and to the south the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees. Richelieu had believed that it was the chief end of his ministry to restore to France the boundaries determined for it by nature. Mazarin had labored hard to win Savoy and Nice and to reach the Rhine on the north. Before his death France at least gained Alsace and reached the Pyrenees, "which," as the treaty with Spain says (1659), "formerly divided the Gauls from Spain."

Louis turned his attention first to the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, to which he laid claim through his wife, the elder sister of the Spanish king, Charles II (1665–1700). In 1667 he surprised Europe by publishing a little treatise in which he set forth his claims not only to the Spanish Netherlands but even to the whole Spanish monarchy. By confounding the kingdom of France with the ancient realms of the Franks he could maintain that the people of the Netherlands were his subjects.

Louis placed himself at the head of the army which he had reformed and reorganized, and announced that he was to undertake a "journey," as if his invasion were only an expedition into another part of his undisputed realms. He easily took a number of towns on the border and completely conquered Franche-Comté. This was an outlying province of Spain, isolated from her other lands, and a most tempting morsel for the hungry king of France. These conquests alarmed Europe, and especially Holland, which could not afford to have the barrier between it and France removed, for Louis would be an uncomfortable neighbor. A Triple Alliance, composed of Holland, England, and Sweden, was accordingly organized to induce France to make peace with Spain. Louis contented himself for the moment with the dozen border towns that he had taken, which Spain ceded to him on condition that he would return Franche-Comté (Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668).

The success with which Holland had held her own against the navy of England and brought the proud king of France to a halt produced, on the part of that tiny country, an elation

which was very irritating to Louis. He was thoroughly vexed that he should have been blocked by so trifling an obstacle as Dutch intervention. He consequently conceived a strong dislike for the United Provinces, which was increased by the protection that they afforded to political writers who annoyed him with their attacks. He broke up the Triple Alliance by inducing Charles II of England to conclude a treaty which arranged that England should help France in a new war against the Dutch.

Louis then startled Europe again by seizing the duchy of Lorraine, which brought him to the border of Holland. At the head of a hundred thousand men he crossed the Rhine (1672) and easily conquered southern Holland. For the moment the Dutch cause appeared to be lost. But William of Orange showed the spirit of his great ancestor, William the Silent: the sluices in the dikes were opened and the country was flooded, with the result that the French army was checked before it could take Amsterdam and advance into the north. Holland found an ally in the elector of Brandenburg, and the war became general. The Emperor sent an army against Louis, and England deserted him and made peace with Holland.

When a general peace was concluded at Nimwegen, at the end of six years, the chief provisions were that Holland should be left intact but that France should retain Franche-Comté, which had been conquered by Louis in person. This bit of the Burgundian heritage thus became at last a part of France, after France and Spain had quarreled over it for a century and a half. For the ten years following there was no open war; but Louis busied himself in the interval by instituting courts in the debatable region between France and Germany, to decide what neighboring districts belonged to the various territories and towns which had been ceded to France by the treaties of Westphalia and later ones. The vestiges of the old feudal entanglements gave ample scope for claims, which were reënforced by Louis's troops. Louis, moreover, seized the important free city

of Strasbourg, and made many other less conspicuous but equally unwarranted additions to his territory. The Emperor was unable to do more than protest against these outrageous encroachments, for he was fully occupied with the Turks, who had just laid siege to Vienna.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes

Louis XIV exhibited as woeful a want of statesmanship in the treatment of his Protestant subjects as in the prosecution of disastrous wars. The Huguenots, deprived of their former military and political power, had turned to manufacture, trade, and banking; "as rich as a Huguenot" had become a proverb in France. There were perhaps a million of them among fifteen million Frenchmen, and they undoubtedly formed by far the most thrifty and enterprising part of the nation. The Catholic clergy, however, did not cease to urge the complete suppression of heresy.

Louis XIV had scarcely taken the reins of government into his own hands before the perpetual nagging and injustice to which the Protestants had been subjected at all times took a more serious form. Upon one pretense or another their churches were demolished. Children were authorized to renounce Protestantism when they reached the age of seven. If they were induced by the offer of a toy or a sweetmeat to say, for example, the words "Ave Maria" (Hail, Mary), they might be taken from their parents to be brought up in a Catholic school. In this way Protestant families were pitilessly broken up. Rough and licentious dragoons were quartered upon the Huguenots with the hope that the insulting behavior of the soldiers might drive the heretics to accept the religion of the king.

At last Louis was led by his officials to believe that practically all the Huguenots had been converted by these drastic measures. In 1685, therefore, he revoked the Edict of Nantes,

and the Protestants thereby became outlaws and their ministers subject to the death penalty. Even liberal-minded Catholics, like the kindly writer of fables La Fontaine, and the charming letter writer Madame de Sévigné, hailed the reëstablishment of "religious unity" with delight. They believed that only an insignificant and seditious remnant still clung to the beliefs of Calvin. But there could have been no more serious mistake. Thousands of the Huguenots succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the royal officials and fled, some to England, some to Prussia, some to America, carrying with them their skill and industry to strengthen France's rivals. This was the last great and terrible example of that fierce religious intolerance which had produced the Albigensian Crusade, the Spanish Inquisition, and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Louis now set his heart upon conquering the Rhenish Palatinate, to which he easily discovered that he had a claim. The rumor of his intention, and the indignation occasioned in Protestant countries by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, resulted in an alliance against the French king headed by William of Orange. Louis speedily justified the suspicions of Europe by a frightful devastation of the Palatinate, burning whole towns and destroying many castles, including the exceptionally beautiful one of the elector at Heidelberg. Ten years later, however, Louis agreed to a peace which—as far as territorial boundaries were concerned—put things back as they had been before the struggle began. He was preparing for the final and most ambitious undertaking of his life, which precipitated the longest and bloodiest war of all his warlike reign.

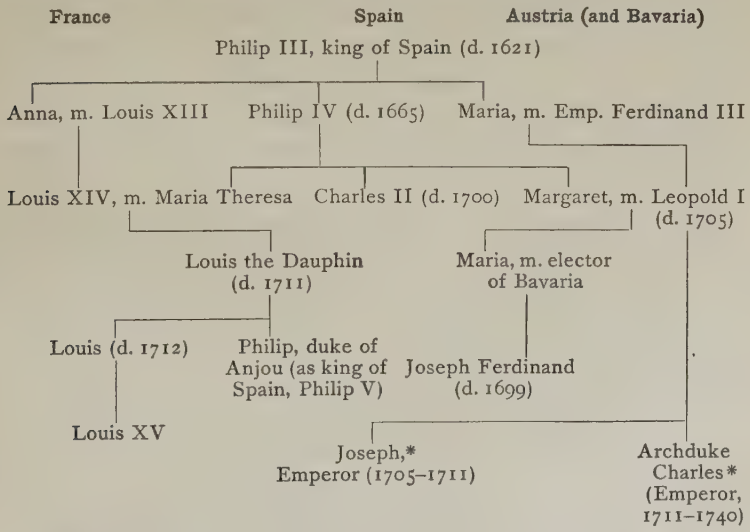
The Spanish Succession; the Treaty of Utrecht

The king of Spain, Charles II, was childless and brotherless, and Europe had long been discussing what would become of his vast realms when his sickly existence should come to an end. Louis had married one of Charles's sisters, and the Em-

peror, Leopold I, another; and these two ambitious rulers had been considering for some time how they might divide the Spanish possessions between the Bourbons and the Hapsburgs.[1] But when Charles II died, in 1700, it was discovered that he had left a will in which he made Louis's younger grandson, Philip, the heir to his twenty-two crowns, on the condition that France and Spain should never be united.

It was a weighty question whether Louis should permit his grandson to accept this hazardous honor. Should Philip become king of Spain, Louis and his family would control all southwestern Europe from Holland to Sicily, as well as a great part of North and South America. This would mean the establishment of an empire more powerful than that of Charles V.

[1] As this genealogical table indicates, the situation had originally been complicated by the fact that Charles II's younger sister and Leopold had a daughter who had married the elector of Bavaria. Their son, Joseph Ferdinand, was the candidate favored by poor Charles himself, but the boy's death in 1699 reduced the chief claimants to the two mentioned in the text.


France
Spain
Austria (and Bavaria)
Philip III, king of Spain (d. 1621)
Anna, m. Louis XIII
Philip IV (d. 1665)
Maria, m. Emp. Ferdinand III
Louis XIV, m. Maria Theresa
Charles II (d. 1700)
Margaret, m. Leopold I (d. 1705)
Louis the Dauphin (d. 1711)
Maria, m. elector of Bavaria
Louis (d. 1712)
Philip, duke of Anjou (as king of Spain, Philip V)
Joseph Ferdinand (d. 1699)
Louis XV
Joseph,* Emperor (1705–1711)
Archduke Charles* (Emperor, 1711–1740)

* Joseph and Archduke Charles were sons of Leopold I by his third wife, Eleanor of Neuburg.

It was clear that the disinherited Emperor and the ever-watchful William of Orange, now king of England, would never permit this unprecedented extension of French influence. They had already shown themselves eager to check far less serious aggressions on the part of the French king. Nevertheless, family pride and personal ambition led Louis criminally to risk the welfare of his country. He accepted the will and informed the Spanish ambassador at the French court that he might salute Philip V as his new king. The leading French journal of the time boldly proclaimed that the Pyrenees were no more.

King William soon succeeded in forming a new Grand Alliance (1701), in which Louis's old enemies—England, Holland, and the Emperor—were the most important members. William himself died just as hostilities were beginning; but the long War of the Spanish Succession was carried on vigorously by the great English general, the duke of Marlborough, and the Austrian commander, Eugene of Savoy. The conflict was more general than the Thirty Years' War; even in America there was fighting between French and English colonists, which passes in American histories under the name of "Queen Anne's War." All the more important battles went against the French; and after ten years of war, which was rapidly ruining the country, Louis was willing to consider some compromise. After long discussion a peace was arranged in 1713.

The Treaty of Utrecht changed the map of Europe as no previous treaty had done, not even that of Westphalia. Each of the chief combatants got its share of the Spanish booty over which they had been fighting. The Bourbon Philip V was permitted to retain Spain and its colonies on condition that the Spanish and French crowns should never rest on the same head. To Austria fell the Spanish Netherlands, hereafter called the *Austrian* Netherlands, which continued to form a barrier between Holland and France. Holland received certain fortresses, to make its position still more secure. The Spanish possessions in Italy (Naples and Milan) were also given to

EUROPE
after the Treaties of
UTRECHT AND RASTADT
1713-1714
Boundary of the Empire
0 100 200 300
Scale of Miles.
KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
Scotland
Edinburgh
Belfast
Dublin
Ireland
Wales
England
London
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North S
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Oudenarde
Fontenoy
R. Seine
Paris
Versailles
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Avignon
Barcelona
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
Madrid
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
Lisbon
R. Tagus
Balearic Isles
Iviza
Majorca
Seville
Cadiz
Gibraltar
(To England)
MEDIT
AFR
55
50
45
40
35
15
10
5
0
10 Longitude West
Longitude East 5

10
15
20
25
30
55
50
45
40
35
KINGDOM OF
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
Königsberg
Prussia
Stralsund
Swedish Pomerania
Bremen
Verden
Prussia
Berlin
Hanover
E. Vistula
POLAND
Saxony
Silesia
Bohemia
Prague
HE EMPIRE
Moravia
Electorate
of
Bavaria
Arch Duchy
of
Austria
Vienna
Munich
Buda
Pest
Kingdom
of
Hungary
Transylvania
Tyrol
Temesvar
Republic of
Venice
Venice
R. Danube
OTTOMAN
DOMINIONS
Ragusa
Cattaro
Gr. Dy.
of
Tuscany
Rome
Naples
(To Austria)
Palermo
Messina
Sicily
(To Savoy)
(later, 1720, to Austria)
Morea
Candia
SEA

Austria, and in this way Austria got the hold on Italy which it retained until 1866. England acquired Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region from France, and so began the expulsion of the French from North America. Besides these American provinces she received the island of Minorca and the rock and fortress of Gibraltar, which still gives her command of the narrow entrance to the Mediterranean.

The period of Louis XIV is remarkable for the development of international law. The incessant wars, the great alliances embracing several powers, and the prolonged peace negotiations, such as those which preceded the treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht, made increasingly clear the need of well-defined rules governing independent states in their relations with one another both in peace and in war. It was of the utmost importance to determine, for instance, the rights of ambassadors and of the vessels of neutral powers not engaged in war, and what should be considered fair conduct in warfare.

The first great systematic treatise on international law was published by Grotius, in 1625, when the horrors of the Thirty Years' War were impressing men's minds with the necessity of finding some other means than war of settling disputes between nations. Grotius' *War and Peace* was followed, in Louis XIV's time, by Pufendorf's *On the Law of Nature and Nations* (1672). While the rules laid down by these and later writers on international law have by no means put an end to war, they have prevented some conflicts by settling certain questions, and by increasing the ways in which nations may come to an understanding with one another through their ambassadors, without recourse to arms.

Louis XIV outlived his son and his grandson and left a sadly demoralized kingdom to his five-year-old great-grandson, Louis XV (1715–1774). The national treasury was depleted; the French people were reduced in numbers and were in a miserable state; and the army, once the finest in Europe, was in no condition to gain further victories.

bridge Modern History, opening about the year 1500, is in 12 large volumes accompanied by an atlas. The various contributions differ a good deal in the skill and insight with which they are written, but many of them are of the highest grade, prepared by the most appropriate specialists. The *Cambridge Mediæval History*, beginning with the break-up of the Roman Empire (of which four volumes had appeared in 1924) is similar in plan and quite equal in importance to the modern series. The first volume of a *Cambridge Ancient History*, coming down to about 1500 B. C., has appeared. These series should be in all college libraries and every earnest student should become accustomed to using them and to finding what he is looking for. They are not so much to be read as studied.

There are two general treatments of certain phases of the Middle Ages that are of fundamental importance. TAYLOR, HENRY OSBORN, *The Mediæval Mind* (2 vols., 2d ed.). This deals with the intellectual and emotional life of western Europe from the times of the Christian Fathers down to the thirteenth century. It is the result of years of careful study of the sources and the matter is arranged in a manner to make it easy to discover highly interesting themes. It is especially valuable for the light it sheds on the attitude of the religious leaders and of the scholastic philosophers. The second general work is THORNDIKE, LYNN, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the first Thirteen Centuries of our Era* (2 vols.). This has an excellent index in which one can look up various names, topics, and books about which Mr. Taylor has little to say. It is not so readable as Mr. Taylor's volumes for various reasons, but is an invaluable book of reference for students who are curious to discover the background of our modern scientific advance. In addition to these modern works there is GIBBON, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, which is really a general history of the later Roman Empire and of the Middle Ages. It was first published between 1776 and 1788. It has been edited by the highly competent J. B. BURY, with his own notes and appendixes, and his edition is to be greatly preferred to all others. For the long period it covers, Gibbon supplemented with Bury's modern erudition, becomes a reference work of first importance, supplied as it is with admirable indexes. Gibbon has a grandiose style, which either charms or bores his reader according to his mood.

In addition to *Readings in European History* referred to throughout this volume there are other convenient collections: THATCHER and

McNeal, *A Source Book for Mediæval History*; Ogg, *A Source Book of Mediæval History*; and the series of *Translations and Reprints* of the University of Pennsylvania. The Columbia University Press is now bringing out a new series of source material, *Records of Civilization*, edited by J. T. Shotwell, which aims to give many important documents of history in full in English translation. Its volumes on *Hellenic Civilization* and *The Rise of Christianity* should be noted here.

The chief guide to the study of the Middle Ages is Paetow, L. J., *A Guide to the Study of Mediæval History*, indispensable to everyone making a careful study of this period.

CHAPTER I. THE HISTORICAL POINT OF VIEW

In order to form an idea of the attitude of modern historians toward their work one may turn to the articles "History" and "Middle Ages" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by James T. Shotwell, and to his *Introduction to the History of History* (Columbia University Press). The latter work deals mainly with ancient historiography but has a supplementary chapter on "The Interpretation of History." See also Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, Barnes, H. E., *The New History and the Social Studies*, and Robinson, J. H., *The New History*.

CHAPTER II. WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

To understand the historical setting of the Roman Empire one should review Breasted, *Ancient Times*, and H. G. Wells, *Outline of History*, which supplement one another admirably.

The best work on the general condition of the Roman Empire on the eve of the barbarian invasions is Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*. Volume I of the *Cambridge Mediæval History* is devoted to this theme. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*; Ramsay, W. M., *The Church and the Roman Empire*; Glover, *Conflict of Religions in the Early Empire*, give good accounts of the rivals of Christianity. For the origins of Christianity there is McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, and Conybeare, *Myth, Magic, and Morals*, among hundreds of works on the subject; also Huttmann, M. A., *The Establishment of Christianity and the Proscription of Paganism* (Columbia Uni-

versity Press). Most of the numerous church histories are rather dull and have much to say of forgotten heresies and religious controversies. See, however, the early illuminating chapters in TAYLOR, *Mediæval Mind.* Very interesting extracts from the sources are to be found in AYER, J. C., *A Source Book of Ancient Church History.*

CHAPTER III. THE GERMAN INVASIONS

The best short account of the barbarian invasions is a little book, EMERTON, *Introduction to the Middle Ages.* See also *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. I; ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*; FOORD, E. A., *The Byzantine Empire.*

For extracts relating to the barbarian invasions, see HAYES, C. H., *An Introduction to the Sources relating to the Germanic Invasions*, 1909 (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Vol. XXXIII, No. III). There is a translation of Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks* by BREHAUT, in the series *Records of Civilization.*

CHAPTER IV. THE RISE OF THE PAPACY; THE MONKS

There are no very satisfactory short accounts of the development of the papacy. One must turn to the church histories, which are written by either Catholics or Protestants and so differ a good deal in their interpretation of events. One may refer to FLICK, *The Rise of the Mediæval Church* (Protestant), or ALZOG, *Manual of Universal Church History* (Catholic). MILMAN, *History of Latin Christianity*, although old, is scholarly and readable and to be found in many good libraries. *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. I, chaps. iv, vi. NEWMAN, *Manual of Church History*, Vol. I (Protestant). AYER, *A Source Book of Ancient Church History.*

The church histories referred to above, all have something to say of the monks. There is an excellent chapter on monasticism in TAYLOR, HENRY O., *Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, chap. vii. See also a little book by the famous church historian HARNACK, *Monasticism.* An illuminating discussion of "Saintliness" is to be found in JAMES, WILLIAM, *Varieties of Religious Experience.*

Life of St. Columban, in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 7, translated by Professor Munro. The chief portions of the Benedictine

Rule may be found in HENDERSON, E. F., *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 74 ff., and in THATCHER and MCNEAL, *A Source Book for Mediæval History*, pp. 432 ff. See map, pp. 46–47, in SHEPHERD, *Historical Atlas*, showing spread of Christianity in Europe.

Cambridge Mediæval History, Vol. II, chaps. xvi, xxii. The most complete history of the monks is by the French writer MONTALEMBERT, *The Monks of the West from St. Benedict to St. Bernard.*

CHAPTER V. THE INFLUENCE OF THE MOHAMMEDANS ON EUROPEAN HISTORY

GILMAN, *The Saracens.* MUIR, *Life of Mohammed.* AMEER ALI, *The Life and Teachings of Mohammed, a Short History of the Saracens*, by one who sympathizes with them and their religion. *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. II, chaps. x–xii. MARGOLIOUTH, *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam.*

STANLEY LANE-POOLE, *Speeches and Table Talk of Mohammed*, very interesting and vivid. One should look over a translation of the *Koran*, since it is one of the most influential works in the history of the human race. See articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on "Mahomet," "Mohammedan Institutions," and "Mohammedan Religion."

CHAPTER VI. CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS EMPIRE

EMERTON, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chaps. xii–xiv. BRYCE, *The Holy Roman Empire*, chaps. iv–v. EINHARD, *Life of Charlemagne. Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. II, chaps xviii–xix. There is a short life of Charlemagne: HODGKIN, *Charles the Great.*

CHAPTER VII. FEUDALISM

SEIGNOBOS, *Feudal Régime. Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. II, chap. xx; Vol. III, chap. xviii. EMERTON, *Mediæval Europe*, chap. xiv. ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. ix. OMAN, *Dark Ages*, chaps. xxiii–xxv. Article "Feudalism" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* INGRAM, *History of Slavery and Serfdom.* CHEYNEY, *Industrial and Social History of England.* HASKINS, C. H., *The Normans in European History.*

to town life in the Middle Ages and is forced to turn to special works: Gibbins, *History of Commerce*, best short account with good maps; Cunningham, *Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects*, Vol. II; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*; Gibbins, *Industrial History of England*; Day, C., *History of Commerce*; Luchaire, *Social Life in the Time of Philip Augustus*; Davis, William S., *Life on a Medieval Barony, a Picture of a Typical Feudal Community in the Thirteenth Century.*

CHAPTER XIII. THE CULTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Haskins, C. H., *The Rise of the Universities* (excellent). Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, chap. xiii. Rashdall, *Universities in Europe in the Middle Ages*, introductory chapters. This standard work is to appear in a new revised edition.

Steele, *Mediæval Lore*, extracts from an encyclopædia of the thirteenth century. The *Song of Roland* is translated into spirited English verse by O'Hagan. The reader will find a beautiful example of a French romance of the twelfth century in any English translation of *Aucassin and Nicolette.* Mr. Steele gives charming stories of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in *Huon of Bordeaux*, *Renaud of Montauban*, and *The Story of Alexander.* Malory, *Le Morte d'Arthur*, a collection of the stories of the Round Table made in the fifteenth century for English readers, is the best place to turn for these famous stories. Coulter, *A Mediæval Garner*, a collection of selections from the literary sources.

Saintsbury, *The Flourishing of Romance*, a good introduction to mediæval literature. Walsh, *The Thirteenth, the Greatest of Centuries* (rather too enthusiastic in its claims). Smith, Justin H., *The Troubadours at Home.* Cornish, *Chivalry.* Hamlin, *History of Architecture.* Moore, C. H., *Gothic Architecture.* Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, gives an excellent account of Abelard and the succeeding scholastic thinkers. Thorndike, Lynn, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, gives in Vol. II an up-to-date account of Albert the Great and of Roger Bacon.

CHAPTER XIV. THE ITALIAN CITIES AND THE RENAISSANCE

SYMONDS, J. A., *The Age of Despots*, a charming account of Italian town life in its more exciting aspects. BURCKHARDT, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. ROBINSON and ROLFE, *Petrarch, the First Modern Scholar* (new and enlarged edition, 1914), containing some of the humanist's most interesting letters. WHITCOMB, *Literary Source Book of the Italian Renaissance*. DEVINNE, *The Invention of Printing*. PUTNAM, G. H., *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*. VAN DYKE, J. C., *A History of Painting*.

MARCO POLO'S *Travels* is easily to be had in English. The best edition of MANDEVILLE is that published by the Macmillan Company, for it contains the accounts of the thirteenth-century travelers on whom the anonymous author of "Mandeville's" travels relied for much of his information. ABBOTT, WILBUR C., *The Expansion of Europe*, Vol. I, chaps. ii–iii and vi. *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, chaps. i–ii. BEAZLEY, C. R., *Dawn of Modern Geography*, a stately work in three volumes, coming down to 1420 only.

CHAPTER XV. THE MAP OF EUROPE AT THE OPENING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I, chaps. iv, xi. ABBOTT, WILBUR C., *The Expansion of Europe*, Vol. I, chaps. iv–v. Article "Charles V" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. CHAPMAN, C. E., *History of Spain* (based upon the manual of the Spanish historian ALTAMIRA), chaps. x–xi, xviii, and xxii. MERRIMAN, R. B., *Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and New*. LANE-POOLE, S., *Story of the Moors in Spain*. DYER and HASSALL, *Modern Europe* (a convenient political history in six volumes), Vol. I.

CHAPTER XVI. BACKGROUND OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLT

CREIGHTON, *History of the Papacy*, Vol. I. LINDSAY, *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I, Bk. I. EMERTON, *The Beginnings of Modern Europe*, chap. vii. SMITH, PRESERVED, *The Age of the Reformation*,

chap. i. *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, chap. xix, "The Eve of the Reformation," by H. C. Lea. Smith, Preserved, *Erasmus*, earlier chapters. The distinguished Catholic historians Pastor and Janssen have treated this period at great length and their main works are to be had in English. Whitcomb, *Source Book of the German Renaissance* (published by Department of History, University of Pennsylvania). Trevelyan, G. M., *England in the Age of Wycliffe.*

XVII. THE PROTESTANT REVOLT

Smith, Preserved, *The Age of the Reformation*, the best single volume dealing with the period covered in this and the following chapter. Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, two volumes, clear and interesting. Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, Vol. VI. McGiffert, *Martin Luther.* Smith, Preserved, *Life and Letters of Martin Luther.*

Wace and Buchheim, *Luther's Primary Works.* Smith, Preserved, *Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters.* Böhmer, *Luther in the Light of Recent Research.* Janssen, *History of the German People.* Article "Reformation" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by J. H. Robinson. See "Zwingli" and "Calvin," in *Encyclopædia Britannica.* Chapters on the changes under Henry VIII and Edward VI will be found in all general histories of England: for example, Pollard, A. F., *History of England* (Home University Library), chap. iv; Cheyney, *Short History of England*, chap. xii; Cross, *A History of England*, chaps. xx–xxii; Green, *Short History of the English People*, chaps. vi–vii; Innes, A. D., *England under the Tudors* and *Cranmer and the Reformation in England.*

Gasquet (a Benedictine), *The Eve of the Reformation.* Pollard, *Henry VIII* and *History of England from the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth.* For the economic and social conditions see Schapiro, J. S., *Social Reform and Reformation*; the standard economic histories of England; Cunningham, William, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Vol. II; and Ashley, W. J., *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, Vol. II.

For source material: *English Economic History, Select Documents*, edited by Bland, Brown and Tawney; Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (both admirable); Cheyney, *Readings in English History.*

CHAPTER XVIII. THE SO-CALLED WARS OF RELIGION

SMITH, PRESERVED, *Age of the Reformation. Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, chaps. ix, xvi, xviii–xix; Vol. III, chaps. i, vi–x, xv, xx; Vol. IV, chaps. i, iii–vi, xiii–xiv. LINDSAY, *History of the Reformation*, Vol. II, Bk. III, chaps. iv–v, and Bk. VI. CHAPMAN, *History of Spain*, chap. xxiii. PUTNAM, RUTH, *William the Silent.* PAYNE, *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen to America*, Vol. I. MOTLEY, *Rise of the Dutch Republic.* GINDELY, *History of the Thirty Years' War.*

The portion of the chapter dealing with English affairs should be supplemented by such manuals as those of CHEYNEY, CROSS, GREEN, etc. POLLARD, *History of England.* CHEYNEY, *History of England, from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*, Vol. I.

CHAPTER XIX. THE STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

CHEYNEY, *Short History of England*, chaps. xiv–xvi. CROSS, *A History of England*, chaps. xxvii–xxxv. GREEN, *A Short History of the English People*, chaps. viii–ix.

CHEYNEY, *Readings in English History*, chaps. xiv–xvi. LEE, *Source Book of English History*, Pt. VI. COLBY, *Selections from the Sources of English History*, Pt. VI, the Stuart Period. GEE and HARDY, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, pp. 508–664.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III., chap. xvii; Vol. IV, chaps. viii–xi, xv, xix; Vol. V, chaps. v, ix–xi. MORLEY, *Oliver Cromwell.* MACAULAY, *Essay on Milton.* GARDINER, *The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution.* TREVELYAN, G. M., *England under the Stuarts.* FIGGIS, J. N., *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings.*

CHAPTER XX. THE CULMINATION OF AUTOCRACY

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chaps i–ii, xiii–xiv. WAKEMAN, *Europe from 1598 to 1715*, chaps. ix–xi, xiv–xv. DURUY, *History of France*, Thirteenth Period. ADAMS, *Growth of the French Nation.*

Modern France, edited by TILLEY, ARTHUR, chaps. i–ii, chaps. viii–ix. Memoirs of the period are often obtainable in translation at reasonable prices. The greatest of these, those of Saint-Simon, are condensed to a three-volume English edition.

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